

The evolution of
Newt

The return
of Barack
Obama
BY JOE KLEIN

Made in the
USA: Why
we need help
BY FAREED ZAKARIA

SUPER BOWL
Eli Manning & the
dreams of younger
brothers everywhere

TIME

THE POWER OF (shyness)




★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

BBQ SO REAL

★ YOU'LL WANT TO ★

WIPE SAUCE OFF YOUR FACE.



Happiness  simple



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Photo-Illustration by Zachary Scott for TIME



The campaign bus of GOP presidential hopeful Newt Gingrich leaves a barbecue in Walterboro, S.C. Photograph by T.J. Kirkpatrick—Corbis

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Editor's Desk

TIME stories that elicited the most mail

Newt's
Stamp-Out:
Poverty
Plan

The Strategist

10
Questions:
Jimmy
Carter

What if Introverts Ruled the World?



THIS WEEK'S COVER STORY (which is one of my favorites) is not about politics. At least, not directly. But in a political season when we are evaluating candidates in terms of leadership and style, it's worth using the introvert-extrovert framework to look at the campaign. The story, by Bryan Walsh, which draws on research from a new book by Susan Cain called *Quiet*, suggests that as a society, we have an affinity for extroversion that may not be healthy and a bias against introversion that may not be wise.

Leadership styles go in and out of fashion. The more top-down corporate leadership style embodied by Jack Welch—think extroversion—gave way to a more horizontal, even introverted style that involves more cooperation and listening. In politics, there was a similar transition, from President George W. Bush's outgoing, resolute style to President Obama's more cerebral and inward approach.

Campaigning, by its very nature, places a premium on an extroverted persona. Candidates are meant to clap people on the back, bound onstage and then deliver a passionate stump speech. No one wants to see a shy candidate on the podium who looks as if he'd rather be in a room by himself. But campaigning is not governing, a task for which a more introverted style might have advantages. Research suggests that extroverted leaders are more likely to make quick and sometimes rash decisions, while introverted leaders tend to gather more evidence and are slower to judgment. Check out the box on page 44, where we place President Obama and the four remaining Republican candidates on the introversion-extroversion spectrum.

Rich

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR



THE CONVERSATION

'The President is maddeningly naive.'

That was the assessment made by the New York Times' Maureen Dowd after she read Barack Obama's response, in an exclusive interview with Fareed Zakaria in our Jan. 30 cover story, **"The Strategist,"** to critics who say his style of diplomacy is aloof. Dowd and other journalists took issue with Obama's explanation to Zakaria that he's not cold; he just prefers spending time with his family to attending parties with the Washington press corps. The interview focused on Obama's foreign policy, and campaign watchers noted the President's confidence that Republicans' attacks on his record would not hold up under the glare of "a serious debate." Obama continued this salvo in his State of the Union address, which he bookended with his foreign policy successes. As the Council on Foreign Relations' James M. Lindsay said of the speech, "Obama's message to Republicans was that he has no intention of running away from his foreign policy record. He is instead going to run on it."

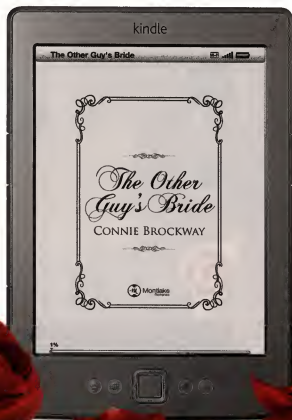


Up Next...

As the Republican slugfest moves on to Florida, TIME's senior political analysts Joe Klein and Mark Halperin will be on the ground for the Jan. 31 primary. Follow their coverage on time.com/politics or @TIMEPolitics on Twitter.

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MAIL



Foreign Policy Prez
As Congress spins its wheels, Fareed Zakaria's "The Strategist" portrays three years of strong political progress by the Obama Administration [Jan. 30]. It is overdue, even ripe, for recognition.

Wally Partymiller, YORK, PA.

Gingrich's Half-Right Proposal

If requiring poor children to mop floors in exchange for an education made them more likely to graduate and find a job, then I might be in favor ["Newt's Stamp-Out-Poverty Plan," Jan. 30]. If requiring wealthy students to provide the same public service gave them a greater sense of mutual responsibility and community, then I would support that idea as well. A better idea is for a country that can offer our youth more varied, skilled and remunerative opportunities.

Seth Newman, MADISON, WIS.

Carter Critique

Re 10 Questions [Jan. 30]: Asking Jimmy Carter about Iranian policy is like quizzing the *Costa Concordia*'s captain on cruise-ship safety.

Joe Frank, SCOTTSDALE, ARIZ.

Toto Recall

While I thoroughly enjoyed Joel Stein's column "Over My Dead Body," Jan. 16, I must correct one erroneous detail. Toto, the much loved canine star of *The Wizard of Oz*, is not buried at Hollywood Forever Cemetery. As one-half of the committee that helped erect a memorial there for Toto this summer (thanks to the amazing generosity of cemetery president Tyler Cassidy and several Facebook friends who contributed to the campaign), I can definitively state that this is a cenotaph only, as the cemetery is for humans, not animals, and Toto remains somewhere under the Ventura Freeway in Studio City, Calif. We clearly present these facts on the memorial itself.

Steve Goldstein, Toto Memorial Committee,
REDONDO BEACH, CALIF.

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SOCIALIZING

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New to Pinterest? It's one of the many social-media sites our readers can use to follow and comment on TIME content. A sampling:



FACEBOOK.COM/TIME

Our wall lit up when we posted a TIME.com story on a school's nixing the cougar as a mascot (to avoid offending older women)



GOOGLE+

Techies and executives are big on this site, and they really liked the charticle we posted about a powerful new telescope



TWITTER

@TIME has more than 3.1 million followers, and Andrew J. Rotherham's latest education column ruffled many a feather



PINTEREST/TIME_MAGAZINE

Virtual pin boards let users highlight and share images, like this one from TIME Photography of a sled dog race in the Alps



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2. Brian Dolinar
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5. @thausman
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Briefing

'The state of our union is getting stronger.
And we've come too far to turn back now.'

1. **PRESIDENT OBAMA**, in his State of the Union address Jan. 24; he urged members of Congress to pass a variety of proposals to continue strengthening the economy

**'Europe will not solve all our problems,
but it's a great opportunity.'**

2. **IVO JOSIPOVIC**, Croatian President, after 66% of Croatians voted in favor of the country's joining the E.U. in 2013

'I will return, and we will
work together for Arizona
and this great country.'

3. **GABRIELLE GIFFORDS**, U.S. Representative from Arizona, resigning from Congress to focus on recovering from a gunshot wound that she suffered in January 2011 at the hands of Jared Lee Loughner

'As it turns out, we didn't bet high enough.'

4. **TIM COOK**, Apple CEO, discussing Apple's record quarterly sales of \$46 billion and explaining that revenue could have been even higher, since the company was short of supply and ended with a significant backlog in certain "key geographies"

'I pay all the taxes that are legally
required and not a dollar more.'

5. **MITT ROMNEY**, Republican presidential candidate, whose recently released tax returns revealed that he paid a 14% effective tax rate on income of more than \$42 million over the past two years



2/3/12

Date when Disney theme-park employees in Florida and California will be allowed to begin wearing beards and goatees

750,000

Number of malnourished children under age 5 in Yemen; UNICEF says the number has been driven up by turmoil in the country



100,000

Approximate number of discrimination complaints received by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in the 2011 fiscal year, the highest in the EEOC's 46-year history

\$1,092

Amount the average U.S. worker spends on coffee each year, according to a recent survey



Briefing

LightBox



Year of the Dragon

Performers celebrate in a Beijing park on Jan. 22 to mark the eve of the Chinese New Year

**Photograph by Diego Azubel—EPA
lightbox.time.com**



World



A protester in Sana'a opposing immunity for the outgoing President

Coming to America

1 | YEMEN After months of promises that he would relinquish power, President Ali Abdullah Saleh left his fractious country for neighboring Oman, handing over the country's uncertain future to his Vice President. Officially, Saleh was headed for the U.S. to receive medical care for burns suffered in a June bomb blast. The U.S., concerned about perceptions that it will be welcoming a dictator, is hoping that Saleh's absence from Yemen will ease a much needed political transition there. In elections on Feb. 21, the acting leader, Abdel Rabbo Mansour Hadi, is expected to be rubber-stamped as President, making him the country's first new leader in 33 years. Yemen's turmoil has exacerbated its humanitarian problems and allowed al-Qaeda-linked militants to operate more freely in stretches of the country.

SEAL Rescue Redux

2 | SOMALIA Even as President Obama was praising Navy SEALs in his Jan. 24 State of the Union address for May's takedown of Osama bin Laden, they were wrapping up the rescue of Jessica Buchanan, an American, and Poul Hagen Thisted, a Dane, who were kidnapped by Somali pirates in October. Buchanan and Thisted, who work for a Danish mine-clearing organization, were being held near Hilmo Gaabo, a Somali village. According to Administration officials, the President authorized the raid when intelligence indicated that Buchanan's health was deteriorating. Around 3 a.m., SEALs from the same unit that took out bin Laden dropped into the village, killed at least seven pirates and whisked the captives to a base in Djibouti. Piracy remains a problem in destitute, lawless Somalia. On Jan. 21, pirates kidnapped an American freelance journalist who, it's believed, is being held for ransom in the pirate stronghold of Hobyo.

Defiance in the Gulf

3 | IRAN In a further attempt to isolate Iran and curb its nuclear program, the E.U. joined the U.S. in increasing economic pressure by agreeing to impose a ban on the nation's oil exports. But Iran remained defiant, announcing it would move forward with plans to hold naval exercises in the Strait of Hormuz, a vital shipping lane for much of the world's oil, as British, French and U.S. naval vessels entered the Persian Gulf in a show of force. While tensions in the region are high, it's unclear whether the latest sanctions will be effective, as Iran exports only about 18% of its oil to European markets.

FRANCE

'The French army is not in Afghanistan so that Afghan soldiers can shoot at them.'

NICOLAS SARKOZY, President of France, suspending French deployments in Afghanistan after an Afghan soldier opened fire and killed four of France's NATO troops on Jan. 20



CHINA

32,312

Messages per second on Sina Weibo, China's Twitter alternative, during the Chinese New Year, smashing Twitter's record by 7,000



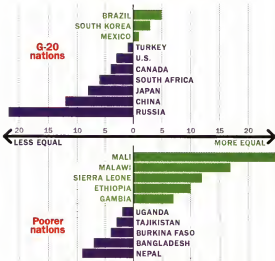
Revolution Revisited

4 | EGYPT A year after the beginning of the uprising that pushed President Hosni Mubarak from power, supporters cheer the new members of the nation's first freely elected parliament in more than 60 years as they gather for the body's first meeting. But while some cheered, others marked the Jan. 25 anniversary by gathering in Tahrir Square to protest continued military rule.

More Ammo for The 99%

5 | SWITZERLAND Ahead of the World Economic Forum meeting Jan. 25 in scenic Davos, Switzerland, Oxfam released a report detailing rising inequality within G-20 countries. The world's most prosperous nations do more than just consume the overwhelming majority of resources; increasingly, they are leaving their own poor behind. "Over half the world's poorest people live in G20 countries," the report said, "and rising inequality threatens to prevent them from benefiting from economic growth." Oxfam called for governments to focus efforts on alleviating poverty.

Percentage change in Gini coefficient—a measure of inequality—from 1990 to 2010



Percentage change in Gini coefficient from 1990 to the mid-2000s (depending on data availability)

SOURCE: OXFAM, USING DATA FROM F. SOLT (2010), THE STANDARDIZED WORLD INCOME INEQUALITY DATABASE. HDI, HANDEL NET/2002 3/12/2002

So Much for Free Speech

6 | INDIA Rumor and intrigue seemed to get the best of the Jaipur Literature Festival after Salman Rushdie, author of *The Satanic Verses*—the controversial 1988 novel that is banned in India for its portrayal of the Prophet Muhammad—was told he should not attend the event because of death threats. Rushdie's attempt to appear via video link was thwarted when local officials intervened. The author later noted on Twitter that he believes officials lied to him about the threat against his life to keep him from attending.

Other notables like Oprah Winfrey and Amy Chua were in attendance



By Mark Halperin

A photograph of Barack Obama, smiling and wearing a dark suit, white shirt, and blue tie. He is holding a small Arizona state flag on a wooden stick in his right hand. The background is a blurred landscape with mountains and a blue sky.

SWING STATE

Why Obama Hearts Arizona

The President has his eye on the Grand Canyon State—or at least its 11 Electoral College votes. He hosted the mayors of Phoenix, Mesa and Tucson in a private meeting on Jan. 18. The White House invited Mark Kelly, Representative Gabby Giffords' husband, to sit with the First Lady for the State of the Union address. Obama made his fifth presidential visit to the state the next day, this time to tour a huge, \$5.2 billion Intel factory that is under construction in Chandler. Obama is looking to surprise: he lost the state to John McCain in 2008 by 195,000 votes, and Democrats believe they could win it back in November if they register 150,000 new voters—mostly youth and Hispanics—in the next nine months.

Forget what you read in spy novels: the Supreme Court ruled unanimously on Jan. 23 that tracking an individual by attaching a Global Positioning System device to a car without a warrant is an unconstitutional violation of the Fourth Amendment guarantee against unreasonable search and seizure. But the court split over why the tracking was illegal. Antonin Scalia wrote

for the majority that attaching the GPS device was a form of trespassing akin to what was prohibited in the 18th century. Going even further, Sonia Sotomayor wrote that the sheer quantity of information collected by GPS devices might in itself be an invasion of privacy. The decision upheld an appeals-court ruling on behalf of a Washington, D.C., nightclub owner whose Jeep had been secretly traced via GPS by police and the FBI in a narcotics operation.



1/3

Proportion of patients in burn units who were scalded while brewing meth, according to an AP survey of hospitals in the South, Midwest and West

INDIANA Right to Work—or Not






















Indiana's lower house passed a right-to-work measure Jan. 25, 54-44, the latest move in a showdown over workers' rights unfolding in Indianapolis as the city prepares to host the Super Bowl. Republicans say the measure, which would make it easier for workers not to join unions, would induce more businesses to locate in the Hoosier State. Labor unions argue it would lead to lower wages. As in previous fights in Wisconsin and Ohio, Democratic lawmakers disappeared for a day or so to avoid casting votes. If the measure is adopted in both houses, it will be the first such act in the traditionally prounion Great Lakes region.



Economy

The Plug-In Surge. Automakers are pushing a new breed of efficient hybrid cars

The prospect of \$100-a-barrel oil and the higher gas prices that inevitably follow made hybrid vehicles the hot topic once again at the annual Detroit auto show, which was held in mid-January. BMW, Ford, Honda, Mercedes, Toyota, Volkswagen and Volvo all introduced new hybrids or plug-ins. Hybrids didn't have a great 2011; they represented only 2.2% of U.S. auto sales, down from 2.4% in 2010. But automakers are betting that the global energy equation—including high demand for fossil fuels from emerging markets, possible supply constraints in the Middle East and the push for tougher environmental standards and regulations—means the math will soon make more sense. "Today you pay a premium to buy a hybrid, and you won't get that money back for a long, long time" via cheaper gas bills, says Edmunds.com senior analyst Michelle Krebs. The equation is constantly changing, though. Consulting firm McKinsey & Co. estimates vehicle electrification—that is, hybrids, plug-ins and electric vehicles (EVs)—could account for 20% to 25% of U.S. auto sales by 2020. Chevy predicts 45,000 Volt purchases, up from less than 10,000 in 2011. Toyota, meanwhile, foresees a 60% increase in U.S. Prius sales thanks to the launch of a plug-in and the Prius C, which gets 50 m.p.g. and starts under \$19,000. Below, a look at what it costs by the mile to drive the hottest new models. —BRAD TUTTLE

MODEL AND MSRP	RANGE	COST TO DRIVE A MILE*
 ● Honda CR-Z \$19,545	 392 miles	 \$0.29
 ▲ Mitsubishi MiEV \$29,125	 62 miles	 \$0.34
 ● Hyundai Sonata Hybrid \$25,850	 636 miles	 \$0.35
 ■ Chevrolet Volt \$30,145	 394 miles (35 miles on charge, the rest on gas)	 \$0.35
 ■ Toyota Prius Plug-In \$32,000	 519 miles (15 miles on charge, the rest on gas)	 \$0.36
 ▲ Nissan Leaf \$35,200	 100 miles	 \$0.41
 ● Chevrolet Silverado \$39,640	 546 miles	 \$0.56

● HYBRID

▲ ELECTRIC VEHICLE

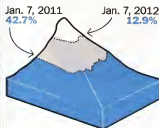
■ PLUG-IN GAS-EV HYBRID

*Notes: Cost of driving a mile assumes a car life of 100,000 miles, the cost of an in-home charger for electric vehicles and a gas price of \$3.38 per gal. Cost per mile for the Chevrolet Volt and Toyota Prius Plug-In is based on electric m.p.g.
 Sources: KelleyBlueBook; National Weather Service; National Center for Atmospheric Research; car manufacturers

SEASONALLY ADJUSTED

The Weather Stimulus. Higher temps could heat up the economy

PERCENTAGE OF U.S. COVERED BY SNOW ON



An unseasonably warm winter is creating an unexpected economic boon. Roadwork has gone uninterrupted in 80% of the country, as have large-scale construction projects. In all, 17,000 nonresidential construction workers found jobs in December, when hiring is normally weak. Landscaping companies are also busier than usual. What's more, cash-strapped cities are benefiting. Des Moines, Iowa, for example, has saved about \$1 million because its snowplows and salt trucks aren't out in the streets. While it's not exactly a free lunch—share prices of publicly traded ski resorts have fallen—it's true that far more companies benefit from warm weather than the other way around.

—JOSH SANBURN

REAL ESTATE

Housing on Hold. Foreclosures are down but mainly because of delays in a broken system

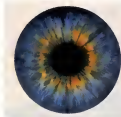
34%
Drop in foreclosure filings in 2011 vs. 2010

43
Rise in average days to foreclose (to 348) in Q4 2011 vs. Q4 2010

Health&Science

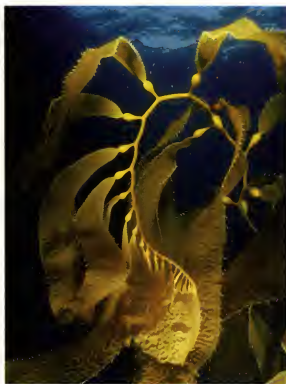
STEM CELLS

Pioneering Trial Helps Blind Patients



Neither patient set out to make history, but that's what two Southern Californian women with progressive, incurable blindness have done. As participants in the only trial of its kind approved in the U.S., the women—one with dry macular degeneration and the other with Stargardt's macular dystrophy—each received a dose of 50,000 retinal cells made from human embryonic stem cells. These come from embryos and have the unique ability to turn into any cell in the body, thus potentially curing disease.

The early results show that the treatment is safe—the cells aren't forming tumors, nor are they wandering off to create problems in other parts of the body. As an added bonus, they may be improving the patients' sight. "It's more than I can hope for," says one of the women, whose vision improved to 20/800. More patients are expected to receive the cells, and the researchers hope the findings will help revive a promising field that has faced setbacks and sharp criticism in recent years. —ALICE PARK



BIOFUELS

Your Next Road Trip, Courtesy of Kelp

The perfect biofuel may look a lot like seaweed. It has sugars that can be turned into ethanol, thanks to scientists who created an enzyme that does all the work. Per unit, seaweed could make five times as much ethanol as corn, though we'd need oceans of kelp farms to feed our current appetite for fuel.

OTHER SOURCES OF BIOFUEL



Sugar cane
Brazil turns its staple crop into ethanol



Corn Growing it may require more energy than it provides



Vegetable oil
An option for diesel engines



Algae The slimy organism turns sun, H₂O and CO₂ into oil



PAIN

Who Hurts More, Men or Women?

It's hard to beat childbirth as a source of extreme pain for women, but even when it comes to equal-opportunity conditions for the genders, women may feel pain more intensely than men. In a study involving 11,000 patients hospitalized for nearly four dozen ailments, researchers found that, across the board, women reported suffering pain more acutely than men did. There may be a biological reason: since estrogen can blunt pain receptors, women may be more sensitive to pain during low-estrogen points of their cycle. There may be cultural factors at play as well. The patients were asked to self-report their pain—in most cases to a female nurse. For the men, that may have been enough to prompt them to downplay how much they were really hurting. —A.P.

REDISCOVERED SPECIES

LOST: The Miller's grizzled langur monkey was believed to be extinct

FOUND: In Borneo, in areas it had never inhabited before



ENVIRONMENT

How Microwave Popcorn May Thwart Vaccines

Childhood vaccines are our best defense against a host of infectious diseases, but a new study shows that common environmental chemicals may be eroding vaccines' ability to protect public health.

Researchers report that exposure to widely used perfluorinated compounds (PFCs)—found in Teflon coatings, microwave popcorn bags, fast-food containers, furniture and stain-resistant carpeting—may lower children's response to the diphtheria, tetanus and pertussis vaccine. Children in the study who had higher levels of PFCs in their blood showed lower levels of antibodies to diphtheria and tetanus toxoids—in many cases, too low for the vaccine to work—than children with a smaller PFC load. The authors say that kids with the lowest levels of antibodies can be revaccinated to make sure they are protected. But the results raise the scary possibility that exposure to chemicals may be weakening children's immune systems overall. —A.P.

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An estimated
1 in 110 children
has an autism-
spectrum disorder



The new criteria for autism may exclude children like Megan Eisenberg, here at age 7

The End of an Epidemic? Why a proposed new definition of autism has parents and advocates worried

By Bonnie Rochman

FOR A CHANGE THAT'S INTENDED TO clarify, proposed revisions to the official definition of autism may do the opposite. More than a year before a new definition is expected to appear in the fifth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*—the standard mental-health reference used by psychiatrists and insurers—a scientific catfight has erupted over the best way to recategorize the spectrum of symptoms that comprise autism disorders. Many experts say the proposed definition, which is still being assessed, will narrow the criteria for autism. The question is, How much?

The stakes are very high: everything from research funding, insurance mandates and education costs could be affected by the proposed change. For families with autistic children, access to expensive therapies and special support in schools depends on an autism diagnosis—which in turn depends on how the disorder is defined. "I think

everyone is scared," says Catherine Lord, a member of the American Psychiatric Association (APA) committee that's overseeing the changes. "I've probably gotten 100 e-mails from people saying, 'What are you doing?'"

The concern reflects the growing confusion over who might no longer be considered autistic: according to Fred Volkmar, a professor of child psychiatry at Yale University, as many as 76% of children currently diagnosed with Asperger's disorder—who typically have a normal or high IQ but are stymied by social interaction—and 84% of those with PDD-NOS (pervasive developmental disorder not otherwise specified) would no longer qualify. "People haven't clued in to this," says Volkmar, who predicts that the new definition could reverse the rising trend line of a diagnosis that now affects 1 in 110 children.

The APA committee, for its part, strongly disagrees. "I would be very

surprised if anyone [lost] their diagnosis," says Lord, director of the Institute for Brain Development at New York-Presbyterian Hospital. "The intention is not to narrow the diagnostic criteria. The intention is to make the diagnostic criteria clearer." Indeed, many researchers are frustrated that diagnosing autism seems so consistently inconsistent. A 2009 study in *Pediatrics* found that 40% of children who had ever been diagnosed with autism no longer had it. Did they outgrow it? Had they been misdiagnosed?

The new definition aims to address the uncertainty, creating one central diagnosis—autism spectrum disorder (ASD)—out of many. Under the new guidelines, a high-functioning child with Asperger's could receive the same diagnosis as a nonverbal child who spends his days putting trucks and cars in uniform lines, but the diagnosis would be more descriptive. Instead of a diagnosis of Asperger's, the child may receive one of "ASD with strong language skills and high intelligence." Some children would see improved access to therapy, particularly in states like California where only those with standard autism diagnoses qualify for state services.

The APA committee is suggesting that anyone currently receiving services be grandfathered in, but that still leaves many parents worried that their children could slip through the cracks in the definitions. Laurisa Stuart credits intensive therapy for the progress her 4-year-old son Bryson has made since being diagnosed with autism two years ago. He wasn't speaking at all then, but after countless hours of speech and occupational therapy, he's gearing up for kindergarten, where he'll be mainstreamed along with other children—albeit with an aide. Potentially losing those services in the event that Bryson no longer met the criteria for autism is "a very scary prospect," says the mother of four from Folsom, Calif. "Just because they haven't classified those children doesn't mean they are not going to exist anymore."

FORTUNE

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In his almost 46 years as Penn State University's head football coach, Joe Paterno, who died at 85 of lung cancer on Jan. 22, led his team to two national championships and five undefeated seasons. His players bucked the college-jock stereotype and consistently earned diplomas. Paterno was supposed to leave the sidelines on his terms and be properly feted as one of the best the game has ever seen. But he never got his grand send-off. Instead, just days after winning his 409th game—the most of any head coach in Division I college-football history—his career ended under a dark, unfathomable cloud. A little more than two months later, his life ended as well.

Paterno was fired in November, partly because he failed to report to police the allegations of child sexual abuse made against his former long-time defensive coordinator Jerry Sandusky. For Paterno, the scandal was a crushing final chapter to a celebrated life that left a lasting mark on Penn State and all of college sports. JoePa and his family donated over \$4 million to Penn State for faculty positions and an interfaith spiritual center. In his rolled-up pants, white socks and trademark rimmed glasses that were thicker than stained-glass windows, Paterno built a down-home football Camelot. But he died a tragic figure. —SEAN GREGORY

Etta James wasn't just a blues legend; she was an icon. With a voice she could mold to belt out delicate ballads like "At Last" and husky, heart-shredding blues hits like "I'd Rather Go Blind," James, who died Jan. 20 at 73, won Grammys for her blues and jazz recordings and was inducted into both the Blues and Rock and Roll Halls of Fame. "Etta is earthy and gritty," blues singer Bonnie Raitt wrote in *Rolling Stone* in 2005, "rblaid and out-there in a way that few performers have the guts to be." Over her nearly six-decade career, James helped construct the bridge between blues and rock 'n' roll, and the Rolling Stones tapped her as the opening act for their 1978 tour. "Etta was my soul mate," Rolling Stones guitarist Keith Richards said. "Never did I see such energy and such a lust for life. There is always *zuzuz* on the floor."



In magazines, on television and with two best-selling books, Charla Krupp empowered women to feel better about their looks and their lives. She worked as an editor at *Glamour* and *INStyle*, establishing herself as an expert in beauty and style. Charla, who died of breast cancer at 58 on Jan. 23, loved beauty and luxury but disdained pretentiousness and snobbery. She seemed to know everyone but was private about her illness. It is a loss that so many missed the chance to say goodbye. But her gift to us is that we will always remember her as she was: vibrant and full of ideas, with enthusiasm in her belief that everything—anything—is possible.

Nelson is editorial director of Time Inc.



PLEADED
Marine Frank Wuterich, guilty to dereliction of duty in the deaths of 24 unarmed Iraqis in Haditha in 2005; the plea deal includes no jail time.

RETIRED
Catcher Jorge Posada, after 17 seasons with the New York Yankees; a five-time All-Star, Posada won five World Series and on retiring quoted Joe DiMaggio: "I want to thank the good Lord for making me a Yankee."



DIED Sarah Burke, 29, pioneering Canadian freestyle skier who helped propel the sport into the 2014 Olympics; Burke died nine days after a crash during a training run.

EXTENDED
The Arab League mission in Syria, for another month; but the six nations of the Gulf Cooperation Council withdrew their observers because of ongoing bloodshed.

DIED Philip Vannatter, 70, lead investigator in the 1994 murder of O.J. Simpson's ex-wife Nicole. In 1977 he arrested director Roman Polanski for having sex with a 13-year-old girl.

Fareed Zakaria



The Case for Making It in the USA

Like it or not (I don't), we need a manufacturing policy to stay competitive

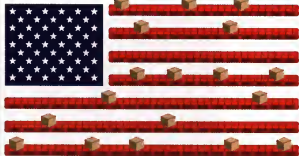
IN A RECENT FRONT-PAGE STORY, THE New York Times detailed how Apple's iPhone ended up being made outside the U.S. In describing the various forces at work—cheap labor, abundant engineers, quick turnarounds—the Times wrote about the Apple executives who visited a factory in China to see if it could cut the glass precisely for the phone's touchscreen. When the Apple team got there, the factory owners were already constructing a new plant. "This is in case you give us the contract," the owners explained. How could they afford such an extravagant gesture? It turns out, the Times noted, that they received subsidies from the Chinese government.

The story caught my eye because it is part of a pattern. President Obama spoke forcefully in his Jan. 24 State of the Union address about the importance of reviving manufacturing in America. Economists tell us it's a complex matter involving tax, trade and regulatory policy, exchange rates and educational skills. It is. But when you move from high-level policy to specific cases, you will often find one element that is rarely talked about: a foreign government's role in boosting its domestic manufacturers with specific loans, subsidies, streamlined regulations and benefits. In effect, these governments—many in Asia, though some in Europe as well—have a national industrial policy to help manufacturers.

In 2009, when Bridgelux, a light-emitting-chip manufacturer, was searching for a new factory site, the company considered the cost of building in the U.S. or elsewhere. The government of Singapore offered to pay half the setup cost of the plant. "Why can't we do that here in the U.S.?" CEO Bill Watkins asked. "The rest of the world is chewing us up alive."

Andrew Liveris, CEO of Dow Chemical Co., has also been arguing for a national policy aimed at reviving manufacturing. Companies cannot compete with countries, he notes in his book, *Make It in America*.

Liveris argues that not only would a manufacturing policy produce good long-term jobs, it would also upgrade the work skills that are crucial to keeping innovation alive. "Innovation doesn't just happen in laboratories by researchers," he told me.



"It happens on the factory floor. The process of making stuff helps you experiment and produce new products. If everything is made in China, people there will gain the skills, knowledge and experience to innovate. And we will be left behind." He worries that with tablets like the iPad and Kindle being made mostly in Asia, the next generation of these products could well be imagined there.

Take solar energy, an industry largely invented in the U.S. but in which the manufacturing has mostly moved to China. The CEO of Evergreen Solar, Michael El-Hillow, decided that he had to move one of his plants to China to reduce costs. "In December 2008, we were approached by a Chinese company, Jiawei, which was impressed with our wafer technology," he recounts. "The Chinese government agreed

to support a loan that would cover two-thirds of our expansion in China." The subsidies offered by the Massachusetts government, by contrast, covered about 5% of the cost of the company's U.S. plant. Last year Evergreen filed for bankruptcy, having unquestionably been undone by cheap Chinese competition. But Evergreen's Chinese factory will continue to operate, with Jiawei inheriting all its technology and know-how.

Or consider wind turbines. China's biggest windmill makers, Sinovel Wind Group Co. and Xinjiang Goldwind Science & Technology Co., have received more than \$15.5 billion in credits from state-owned banks. As a result, despite many concerns about quality, they won their first major foreign orders in the past year. They

plan to establish plants abroad, including China's first in the U.S. Over time, they will gain experience, improve quality and further reduce costs. In industry after industry, the same pattern emerges.

In theory, I am deeply skeptical of government industrial policy. Government doesn't know

how to pick winners and losers, it will make mistakes, and the process will get politicized. All this is true. And yet when I look at China and South Korea and also Germany and Japan, I see governments playing a crucial role. They do make mistakes—their versions of Solyndra—but they seem to view them the way venture capitalists would. Their role is to seed many companies, only a few of which will succeed. Once these companies are identified, government helps them compete against big U.S. multinationals. There used to be a joke about Marxist economists who would say of a deviation from pure communist economics: "It might work in practice, comrade, but it doesn't work in theory." That's what industrial policy looks like these days. The theory doesn't make sense, but it's hard to argue with the result.

Andrew Ferguson



A Newt for All Seasons. If Gingrich takes over the GOP, which of his personas will show up to claim the prize?

EARLY LAST YEAR AN EDITOR FRIEND of mine asked me to write an article about the rumored presidential candidacy of Newt Gingrich. "Nah," I said. "He's not going to run."

A month or two after Gingrich announced he was going to run, the same friend asked me to write about the kind of campaign Gingrich would conduct. "Forget him," I said. "He'll be out of the race by summer."

Autumn came, and another friend asked me how Gingrich managed to stay in the campaign despite empty coffers and microscopic poll numbers. I told him the point was moot. The Gingrich campaign wouldn't last another month. I think I might have used the word *toast*. At least I did not urge my friend to "stick a fork in him because he's done." So I'm not a complete idiot.

Other observers have made other failed predictions about Gingrich, and it's slightly dizzying to think that our lack of political prescience is almost as vast as Gingrich's capacity for resilience. In our defense, we should note that behind our serial failures are serial Newts, and no one, not even the Newts themselves, knows which one will appear next.

In Florida, especially in the debate on Jan. 23, we had a rare sighting of Affable Newt: mild, gracious, poised and condescending. He was generous with the praise he bestowed on his fellow candidates, those poor dudes who have deluded themselves into thinking they might have a chance to prevent him from claiming the victory that will soon be his. Most Gingrich observers say they hadn't seen Affable Newt since early 1995, shortly before he became Cocky Newt and colluded in a government shutdown that sent his national popularity

on a toboggan run from which it has never recovered.

Affable Newt and Cocky Newt—indeed all the Newts—share many qualities beyond the rictal grin and the thatch of snowy hair. Cocky Newt appeared the moment polls first showed him gaining on Mitt Romney, shortly after Thanksgiving. "I'm going to be the nominee," he told ABC News. "It's very hard not to look at the recent polls and think that the odds are very high I'm going to be the nominee." Then he sank in the polls again.



Face forward So far, voters seem to like the many sides of Newt

Note Cocky Newt's overuse of the word *very*. In truth the "very high" odds that Newt saw weren't "very hard" to miss; they were nonexistent, literally impossible to imagine. Future grammarians will someday agree that Gingrich suffers from the worst case of clinical adverbia the world has ever seen: rare is the Gingrichian sentence that doesn't get goosed along by an adverbial modifier. Nothing can be wrong without being fundamentally, profoundly wrong; no act isn't stupid enough not to be stunningly, staggeringly stupid.

Often the grandiosity has an alchemical effect, and when it does, a new Newt

will appear—menacingly. Cocky Newt in December gave way briefly to Aimless Newt as his poll numbers fell, leading to brief flashes of Resentful Newt. Inevitably, Angry Newt emerged when John King, the moderator of the CNN debate on Jan. 19, asked about one of the early Gingrich marriages. "To take an ex-wife," he replied, now famously, "and make it [sic; her name is Marianne] two days before the primary a significant question in a presidential campaign is as close to despicable as anything I can imagine."

The "close to" is an important touch, suggesting that the utterance is a carefully nuanced judgment rather than merely crazy, which is what it is. In striving to imagine something despicable, anyone else might settle on serial murder or the

rape rooms in Saddam Hussein's palaces or the Holocaust—but never an impertinent question about an ex-wife. This is the power of Newt's alchemy. The outlandish exaggeration transforms the candidate from a victimizer of wives into a victim of a trivializing press corps.

The standing ovation that followed signaled that Angry Newt would carry the day, win South Carolina and arrive at his current perch, from which

Affable Newt looks out serenely at the GOP convention in Tampa six months away. Does Affable Newt know that while Angry Newt could win South Carolina, only Affable Newt can win the country? Already there are signs of a thought forming at the back of his mind: "It's very hard not to look at the recent polls and think that the odds..."

And if that's what he's thinking, say hello again to Cocky Newt. All I know is, he's toast.

Ferguson is a senior editor at the Weekly Standard

Prescription only



Ready to try to quit smoking? Meet another option.

Nicotrol Inhaler
(nicotine inhalation system) 

Trying to quit smoking but need some help? Talk to your doctor to see if NICOTROL Inhaler—the inhaled prescription nicotine replacement therapy—may be right for you.

NICOTROL Inhaler, when used as part of a comprehensive behavioral smoking cessation program, may help you quit smoking by reducing your urge to smoke.¹

For more information on NICOTROL Inhaler, visit www.Nicotrol.com/2012

Indication

NICOTROL Inhaler is indicated as an aid to smoking cessation for the relief of nicotine withdrawal symptoms. It is available only by prescription and is recommended for use as part of a comprehensive behavioral smoking cessation program.

Important Safety Information

Do not use the NICOTROL Inhaler if you are hypersensitive or allergic to nicotine, menthol, or to any ingredient in the product.

If you have cardiovascular, peripheral vascular, or bronchospastic diseases including asthma or chronic pulmonary disease, talk to your doctor about using the NICOTROL Inhaler. If you are under a doctor's care for any condition, you should first discuss with your doctor the potential risks of using this product.

You should stop smoking completely before using the NICOTROL Inhaler. You should not smoke or use other nicotine-containing products while under treatment with the NICOTROL Inhaler.

Because nicotine is addictive, it is possible to become dependent on the NICOTROL Inhaler. It is important to use it only for as long as needed to overcome your smoking habit. The safety of treatment with the NICOTROL Inhaler for periods longer than 6 months has not been established, and such use is not recommended.

Please see Brief Summary of Important Risk Information for NICOTROL Inhaler on the back.

A special note about children and pets: The NICOTROL Inhaler can cause serious illness or be fatal in children and pets—even in very small amounts. If a child chews on or swallows new or used NICOTROL Inhaler cartridges, immediately call a doctor or call your regional poison center.

The specific effects of the NICOTROL Inhaler treatment on fetal development and nursing infants are unknown. Therefore, pregnant and nursing smokers should be encouraged to attempt cessation using educational and behavioral interventions before using pharmacological approaches.

You are likely to experience mild irritation of the mouth or throat, or cough when you first use the NICOTROL Inhaler. In clinical trials, the frequency of mouth or throat irritation, or coughing declined with continued use. The most common nicotine-related side effect was upset stomach. Other nicotine-related side effects were nausea, diarrhea, and hiccup. Smoking-related side effects included chest discomfort, bronchitis, and high blood pressure.

It is important to tell your doctor about any other medications you may be taking because they may need dosage adjustment.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Nicotrol[®] Inhaler

(nicotine inhalation system)



10 mg per cartridge (4 mg delivered)

Important Facts About NICOTROL Inhaler

This information does not take the place of talking to your doctor about your medical condition or your treatment.

What is the most important information I should know about NICOTROL Inhaler?

Do not use NICOTROL Inhaler if you are hypersensitive or allergic to nicotine or to menthol.

Because you are already addicted to the nicotine in cigarettes, it is possible to stay dependent on the lower dose of nicotine found in the NICOTROL Inhaler. It is important to use the Inhaler for only as long as directed by your doctor to overcome your nicotine addiction and smoking habit.

People who use NICOTROL Inhaler with a comprehensive behavioral smoking cessation program are more successful in quitting smoking. This program can include support groups, counseling or specific behavior change techniques.

Remember:

- Do not use more than 16 cartridges each day unless directed to do so by your doctor
- Do not use NICOTROL Inhaler longer than 6 months

Keep out of reach of children and pets. The NICOTROL Inhaler can cause serious illness in children and pets—even in very small amounts. If a child chews on or swallows NICOTROL Inhaler cartridges, call a doctor or Poison Control Center.

NICOTROL Inhaler may cause side effects. Many people experience mild irritation of the mouth or throat and cough when they first use the NICOTROL Inhaler. Most people get used to these effects in a short time. Stomach upset may also occur. Nicotine from any source can be toxic and addictive.

If you are pregnant or breast-feeding, only use this medicine on the advice of your health care provider. Smoking can seriously harm your child. Try to stop smoking without using any nicotine replacement medicine. This medicine is believed to be safer than smoking. However, the risks to your child from this medicine are not fully known.

What should I know before I start using NICOTROL Inhaler?

Commit yourself – NO SMOKING! For the NICOTROL Inhaler to help, you must be firmly committed to quitting! Stop smoking as soon as you start using the Inhaler. Do not smoke or use any other tobacco products at any time while using the NICOTROL Inhaler.

Nicotine overdose can occur. If symptoms of overdose occur, call a doctor or Poison Control Center immediately. Overdose symptoms include: bad headaches, dizziness, upset stomach, drooling, vomiting, diarrhea, cold sweat, blurred vision, hearing difficulties, mental confusion, weakness and fainting.

What is NICOTROL Inhaler?

NICOTROL Inhaler helps you quit smoking by reducing your urge to smoke. Success in quitting with nicotine replacement therapy (such as NICOTROL Inhaler) usually involves behavior change. Your doctor may adjust the number

of Inhaler cartridges during the first few weeks. As your body adjusts to not smoking, your doctor will either tell you to stop using the Inhaler or slowly reduce the dose.

What is a nicotine replacement therapy?

Nicotine replacement products are one type of smoking cessation product. Designed to wean your body off cigarettes, they supply you with nicotine in controlled amounts while sparing you from other chemicals found in tobacco products.

What should I tell my healthcare provider before using NICOTROL Inhaler?

Tell your doctor if you have:

- heart problems (recent heart attack, irregular heartbeat, severe or worsening heart pain)
- allergies to drugs
- high blood pressure
- diabetes requiring insulin
- stomach ulcers
- kidney or liver disease
- overactive thyroid
- wheezing or asthma

Tell your doctor about any medicines you are taking—the dosages may need to be changed. Check with your doctor before taking any new medicine while using NICOTROL Inhaler.

What are the possible side effects of NICOTROL Inhaler?

You may experience mild irritation of the mouth or throat and cough when you first use the NICOTROL Inhaler. You should get used to these effects in a short time. Stomach upset may also occur.

Tell your doctor if you have any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects.

How do I use NICOTROL Inhaler?

Follow doctor's directions. Stop smoking completely during the NICOTROL Inhaler treatment program. See full Patient Information for additional details.

How should I store NICOTROL Inhaler?

- Store cartridges at room temperature, not to exceed 77°F (25°C)
- If you keep cartridges in car, be careful: interiors heat up quickly
- Protect from light
- Clean mouthpiece regularly with soap and water

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Need more information? Ask your doctor or healthcare provider. Talk to your pharmacist. Visit to www.NICOTROL.com or call 1-800-222-7200.

References: 1. Nicotrol Inhaler [prescribing information]. New York, NY: Pfizer Inc; 2008. 2. FDA 101: Smoking cessation products. U.S. Food and Drug Administration Web site. <http://www.fda.gov/ForConsumers/ConsumerUpdates/ucm198176.htm>. Accessed November 14, 2011.

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Joe Klein



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Obama's Fairness Doctrine

The President slaps the GOP candidates even as he invokes sacred conservative themes

AFTER THREE MONTHS OF TOTAL immersion in Republican rhetoric and ideology on the campaign trail, it was something of a relief for me to see the actual President of the United States, not the GOP caricature, deliver his rousing State of the Union speech. It turns out that Barack Obama has been following the Republican campaign pretty closely. His speech not only was a response to the policies the Republicans have been proposing; it also pushed back, vehemently but subtly, against the style and spirit of the GOP race. It was impossible, watching Obama, to imagine him as "the most radical President in American history," as Newt Gingrich likes to say. It was also hard to see him as pro-"European-style welfare state," "socialist" or "weak" on foreign policy. The speech was pure jingo, from its celebration of the Navy SEALs to General Motors. "If the playing field is level," he said, "America will always win."

This was not a bold speech in terms of substance. The actual policy initiatives were Clintonian in their timidity. But there was a very different tone and attitude from Obama's previous annual addresses. It was confident and optimistic. America had turned a corner. Recovery was on the way. Three million jobs had been created in the past 22 months, 160,000 in the auto industry he had saved. The President's language was more colloquial. It seemed he had learned something from watching Gingrich's debate performances. The blunt power of the central declaration of the speech—that those who believe America is in decline or that its powers are waning "[don't] know what they're talking about"—was the sort of line Gingrich has used time and again to excoriate journalists, except Obama delivered it better, without the sneer. This

was not soaring rhetoric; it was smash-mouth, bring-it-on swagger.

And yet Obama made some concessions to the more powerful Republican arguments against him. He quoted Abraham Lincoln about government's doing only "what [the people] cannot do better by themselves and no more." He repeatedly returned to the theme of making



His turn to talk Obama touts fair shares

government simpler and more responsive. He talked about streamlining job-training programs—pace Mitt Romney—so that there would be only "one program, one website and one place" for unemployed workers to go for help. He talked about an "all-of-the-above [U.S. energy] strategy"—pace Gingrich—and promised to open 75% of offshore oil and gas fields to development. He talked about scouring the federal government for stupid regulations. He cited one that could require dairy farmers to spend \$10,000 cleaning up spilled milk. "I'm confident a farmer can contain a milk spill without a federal agency looking

over his shoulder," he said. Ron Paul couldn't have said it any better.

Even when Obama confronted the Republicans on the need for the wealthy to pay higher taxes, he did it in a way that was subtle than suggesting direct rate hikes. He once again proposed that people who make more than \$1 million a year should pay at least 30% of their income in taxes—the so-called Buffett rule. It didn't hurt that Romney had chosen that very day to make his record of massive income and puny taxes available to the public. It also didn't hurt that Indiana Governor Mitch Daniels, in a solid but unexciting official GOP response to Obama's speech, came out for something very similar to the President's plan: raising the amount the wealthy pay by closing the loopholes they use.

In the end, though, the President's most important retort was about not policy but patriotism. It is traditional for Republicans to posit themselves as strong and Democrats as weak. But it's harder now. For the first time, Obama really exploited the fact that he had ordered Navy SEALs to kill Osama bin Laden. And in his peroration, he brilliantly used the SEAL ethos of total teamwork as a metaphor for his vision of government. He had been given a flag by the SEALs who took out bin Laden, signed by each member of the team. "Each time I look at that flag, I am reminded that our destiny is stitched together like those 50 stars and those 13 stripes," the President said. "No one built this country on their own. This nation is great because we built it together. This nation is great because we worked as a team. This nation is great because we get each other's backs."

This is, without question, the strongest argument against the Darwinian "freedom" Republicans are touting. It is a reminder that the Constitution was a stitching device, written to unify and control the states, not merely to liberate them. It may not win Obama re-election, but it will make the campaign quite a fight.

The unlikely insurgent

Lending his voice to the angriest voters, Gingrich upended a race that once looked to be brief



Photograph by Peter van Agtmael for TIME



ELECTION 2012

Will the real GOP
candidate please
stand up?

BY DAVID
VON DREHLE

Let's see if we have this straight.

Heading into the Florida Republican presidential primary on Jan. 31, surging outsider Newt Gingrich was threatening to knock off Establishment front runner Mitt Romney, the former governor of Massachusetts. By channeling the anger of the Tea Party movement, Gingrich roared to victory in South Carolina in time to thwart the Romney coronation.

Clear enough. Except the "outsider" is a guy who has been around Washington for 30-plus years and was just two heartbeats away from the presidency during his service as Speaker of the House. And the "front runner" is a fellow who not long ago was having trouble keeping up with a refugee from the pizza-delivery industry. And Romney's earlier "victory" in Iowa was actually second place. And the "Establishment," well...

"I don't know what the Republican establishment is," says Jeb Bush, a former GOP governor of Florida. "I haven't learned the secret handshake, and I don't know where to go for a membership card." That's Jeb B-U-S-H, as in Reagan-Bush, Bush-Quayle, Bush-Cheney; as in three generations that include a Republican Senator, a party chairman, governors and Presidents. Jeb's membership card was stapled to his birth certificate, so what's the point in his saying there is no Establishment unless this year there actually is no Establishment?

This race is making America's head spin. After his eight-vote win in Iowa that was actually a 34-vote loss (or maybe not—the folks counting the votes finally gave up trying), Romney was locked in battle with former Pennsylvania Senator Rick Santorum. That's when Gingrich, plummeting in the polls, burst back into the lead, thanks in part to a televised interview in which his second ex-wife said Gingrich once asked for an "open marriage." Romney, meanwhile, damaged his hopes of leading the low-tax party by revealing that he pays a low tax rate. He also scrambled to answer charges that he invested millions of dollars in American businesses.

The wild card in the race is Ron Paul of

Texas, 76, on account of his strong appeal to the youth vote. Santorum is hanging in there too, in case something, um, unexpected happens.

How Newt Roared Back

ANY ATTEMPT TO MAKE SENSE OF THE RACE at some point runs smack into the fact that the race doesn't make much sense. The Republican Party is still reeling from the explosions of 2006 and '08, which blew apart constituencies no longer happy together. The nation-building neoconservatives, eager to improve the world, clashed with the America-first conservatives; the pork-barreling K Streeters clashed with the genuine fiscal conservatives; the prim social conservatives clashed with the libertarians; the pro-immigrant crowd clashed with the border-sealing caucus; and so on. The impulse at party headquarters was to slap a Band-Aid emblazoned with Ronald Reagan's smiling face over the wounds, which might have worked for a while—until the whole economy collapsed.

The crash only made these constituencies even less willing to go along for the sake of unity. The 2010 election cycle saw a lot of new Republicans victorious, but internal harmony remained ragged. Various Tea Party and libertarian elements pushed aside party elders in states from Delaware to Nevada. When the rebels got to Washington, they proved no more pliable; they are a large part of the reason Congress has ground to a halt.

So the quest to crown a nominee has failed so far because the GOP elements aren't ready to come together. As the best-organized, best-funded candidate in the race, Romney was supposed to rope them all in by promising the best shot at victory. And for a couple of weeks, it looked as if he might succeed. That's when Gingrich re-entered the picture.

The return of Newton Leroy Gingrich, as others have observed, bears at least a passing resemblance to the long-ago resurrection of Richard Milhous Nixon. Both started as young men with chips on their



shoulders and ambition that gnawed like a wolf. Not rich, not handsome but willing to work hard and shameless and unafraid to close with the enemy and apply the bayonet. Both rose very high—Nixon became Vice President; Gingrich became Speaker—then fell very low. And just when you think the story is over, the Republican Party melts down, and guess who's back?

Where the two stories diverge, however, says a lot about politics in the 21st century. After a humiliating "last press conference" in 1962—"You won't have Nixon to kick around anymore," he declared—Nixon had to create the elaborate ruse of a relaxed and smiling New Nixon. Gingrich, after being set adrift in a lifeboat by mutinous House Republicans in 1998, tried something similar last year. It almost ruined him. His pose as a wise



and serene party elder, high above the brutal fray, merely opened him up to a highly effective barrage of ads charging that Newt wasn't what he claimed to be.

It was only when he went back to doing what he does best—playing the match that lights the Molotov cocktail—that Gingrich rebounded to the front of the pack. He attacked Bain Capital, the private-equity firm founded by Romney, as an example of rapacious finance; he scolded debate moderator Juan Williams over a question of racial sensitivity; he blasted CNN's John King for crediting the “trash” uttered by his former wife on ABC.

None of this was by the book, and that's why it worked. There is a large bloc of voters eager to burn whatever book the politicians have been following, and suddenly Gingrich was speaking their language. “I like

Missteps After losing in South Carolina, Romney released one year's tax returns and estimates for a second, a move political veterans called “malpractice”

that the elites of D.C. don't like him and the elite media doesn't like him,” said Colette Koester, a Gingrich supporter, at a rally in Greenville, S.C. These folks weren't looking for a wise and serene party elder; they wanted a candidate who was, like them, spoiling for a brawl; like them, tired of being screwed; like them, onto the crooked game being played by insiders and fancy-pantsers. He shot up so fast in the polls, it's a wonder his eardrums didn't burst.

Millions of Republicans, explains Rush Limbaugh, the king of conservative talk radio, hear Gingrich and say, “Finally!”

What they want right now is fightback, what they want is pushback, what they want is kickback, what they want is smackdown! What they want is for these people who have been laughing at them and mocking them and impugning them [to be] put in their place.”

Another way he's different from Nixon: Gingrich seems comfortable in his abundant skin. His primary regret about the campaign so far, he has said, is that he “hired regular consultants and tried to figure out how to be a normal candidate.” Once he remedied that by driving the consultants crazy enough to resign en masse in June, he was liberated. So much for normal.

Inside Operation Newt

GINGRICH'S DAY BEGINS AND ENDS WITH meeting the media. Lacking money to match Romney's ad budget, he starts his interview schedule early. The day of the South Carolina primary, his press bus departed from Charleston at 4 in the morning for a journey upstate, where he gave speeches and pumped hands in the pouring rain. On the trail, he rides a bus with his smiling mug painted across the side to as many as six events a day. Between stops, Gingrich does more interviews, calls local activists and often conducts tele-town halls with voters. He never runs out of things to say, because he is one-half dorm-room philosopher and one-half Fuller Brush man. If he talks in his sleep, surely it's in paragraphs. The day typically winds down at about 9 or 10 p.m., when the bus deposits the candidate and his wife Callista at their hotel, where Gingrich will occasionally join the press corps in the bar and talk some more.

After his Washington consultants ditched him, Gingrich culled a new staff from the outfits he set up after leaving Congress to keep his political career alive while he cashed in the Washington way. (Consultant, novelist, orator, historian—but never a lobbyist!—Gingrich earned more than \$3 million in 2010 just for being him.) Michael Krull, his campaign manager, was national director of Gingrich's now shuttered PAC called American Solutions. Press secretary R.C. Hammond, who also migrated from American Solutions, is a regular on Gingrich's bus, along with a handful of other aides and Callista.

Bare-bones staffing leaves plenty of room for Callista, who accompanies her husband everywhere, dutifully remaining beside him onstage as he delivers a stump speech she has heard a hundred times. Gingrich animates his talks with time-tested bad guys—liberal megadonor George Soros, food-stamp recipients, activist judges and elites in Washington, New York City and San Francisco. Experts thought that wife No. 3 would be a liability for Gingrich, given that she was a much younger congressional staffer with whom he was canoodling while he was pressing for the impeachment of Bill Clinton on sex-related charges. Things aren't working out that way. Instead, he credits her with making a churchgoing, Bible-reading man out of him. After his speeches, husband and wife work the crowd as a pair. When an event includes a book signing, they have a routine in which she handles the small talk as he scrawls his name. Aides describe her role as that of confidante, caretaker and cheerleader, someone who monitors his health, ensures he's getting enough rest and keeps his morale up. "It really, truly is Newt and Callista's campaign," says Andrew Hemingway, 29, who ran Gingrich's New Hampshire operation. "It's very clear that we work for them."

His advisers say he doesn't need coaching, that running Gingrich is as simple as putting him in front of as many voters

Newt's Hot Topics

ACTIVIST JUDGES

Gingrich has vowed to hold federal judges accountable for rulings from the bench

SAUL ALINSKY

Gingrich recasts the incendiary community organizer as an inspiration to Obama

THE MEDIA

Gingrich fires up crowds by mocking the media's bias and their masters in New York

THE TELEPROMPTER

Gingrich, who usually speaks impromptu, mocks Obama's use of the oratory device

WASHINGTON ELITES

They ruined the economy, accomplish little and favor Democrats, he says

THE "FOOD-STAMP PRESIDENT"

Critics call this swipe at Obama an example of racially coded rhetoric

as possible and letting him channel their myriad frustrations. "He's the campaign's best asset, and the goal is to keep him moving," says Craig Schoenfeld, his senior Iowa adviser, who fled Gingrich in June but returned in November. "He's had a way he wanted to run this campaign. It's not necessarily something that I as a consultant would have bought into. But it's worked."

Where the Gingrich campaign may falter—where it has already stumbled in Iowa and New Hampshire—is over its shortage of money, inattention to operational details and lack of organizational rigor.

Gingrich's choice of venue for his events can be bewildering. He is chronically late, leaving his campaign sound track playing on a loop and nervous introductory speakers fumbling to keep crowds warm. The local Republican Party chairman could only sigh at a rally in Orangeburg, S.C., the day before the primary and ask, "Is he here yet?"

Great Big Contradictory Ideas

GINGRICH IS PROUD TO BE "GRANDIOSE." He doesn't just promote an agenda; he "renews American civilization." He reminds himself of a lot of different people, including Charles de Gaulle, the Duke of Wellington and Moses. In his latest incarnation, he might want to add the Mississippi lawmaker Noah "Soggy" Sweat Jr. to his list. Like Gingrich, Sweat had a way with words. Also like Gingrich, he was blissfully free of that foolish consistency that is said to be the hobgoblin of small minds.

Old Soggy is famous for his short speech in the early 1950s on the topic of legalizing alcohol—a model of insincerity and having it both ways. "If when you say *whiskey* you mean the devil's brew, the poison scourge, the bloody monster, that defiles innocence, dethrones reason, destroys the home... then certainly I am against it," Sweat declared. "But if when you say *whiskey* you mean the oil of conversation, the philosophic wine, the ale that is consumed when good fellows get together, that puts a song in their hearts and laughter on their lips... then certainly I am for it."

The Gingrich campaign has been a nonstop, three-dimensional, multimedia "If by whiskey" speech. If when you say *Washington insider* you mean the bad guys who are ruining the country, he's against them, but if you mean former Speakers of the House who make millions on K Street, live in McLean, Va., and spend lavishly at Tiffany, then he is one. If by the media you mean the folks Gingrich joshes freely with during late-night sessions in hotel bars, he's a big fan, but if you mean the people who ask unwelcome questions with millions of people watching, he's definitely opposed.

Colleagues who tried to work with Gingrich in Congress aren't surprised by this inconsistency. "The positive thing about Newt is that he is a man with lots of ideas," says Roy Blunt, a Senator from Missouri. "The negative side of that is that those ideas would change in pretty significant



Newt's army His backers, like these at a diner in Laurens, S.C., are fervid and committed

ways that you wouldn't have any reason to anticipate."

If by Saul Alinsky you mean the late Chicago community organizer who influenced Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, Gingrich promises to save us from his schemes. But if you mean the man who wrote that political-change agents "must first rub raw the resentments of the people of the community and fan the latent hostilities," then you are speaking of Gingrich's tactical twin. If by Freddie Mac you mean the cause of the financial collapse, he's on the case, but if you mean his \$25,000-per-month client, he's a big fan. If by France you mean that sickly country where socialism runs rampant, God forbid we catch that infection, but if by France you mean a culture where a man's wife and his mistress can sit down for a nice cup of coffee together, hey, maybe they're onto something.

Political Malpractice?

ROMNEY HAS BUILT A MASSIVE CAMPAIGN on the proposition that he is the Republican best able to defeat Obama in November, but if he can't beat Gingrich in January and February, the entire edifice is liable to tumble. After South Carolina, Romney reached out to Jeb Bush in hopes of getting an endorsement that would boost his chances in Florida. Bush refused, on the theory that a nominee who needs to be propped up is not a nominee worth having. "I think the candidates need to earn it," Bush told me when I asked why he was remaining neutral. "They have 10 days to be compelling to the people of Florida. That test makes them stronger in the fall. Any of them is better than Obama, and they need the primary process to make them strong enough to beat Obama."

Gingrich strikes many Republicans as such a tangle of contradictions, such a carousel loaded with baggage, that they have no sympathy for Romney if he can't win this matchup. The first few days after South Carolina, however, the man seemed hopelessly tangled in his tax returns. When Romney grudgingly released two years' worth of data one week before the Florida primary, he gave the public a rare look inside the financial realities of nine-digit wealth. We learned that amazing things can happen when the IQs of America's best tax attorneys feast on the jungle foliage of the U.S. tax code. The Romneys give away more in charity each year than the average

TIME/CNN/ORC Poll

Florida Could Make It a Two-Man Race...

Republican-presidential-primary voters in Florida who say they would support...



36%
MITT ROMNEY



34%
NEWT GINGRICH

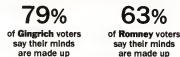


11%
RICK SANTORUM

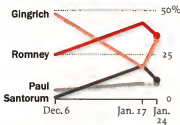


9%
RON PAUL

... With Gingrich Having More-Solid Backing



HOW THEY GOT THERE



Source: Telephone interviews of 300 likely voters in the Florida Republican primary by ORC International Jan. 22-24. Sampling error in ±3 percentage points (±0.5 for strength-of-support question).

TO READ JON MEACHAM ON GINGRICH, GO TO TIME.COM/NEWTANDGINCH.

American family earns in a lifetime; on the other hand, they pay less than 15% tax on their income. Why it took Romney so long to release the records, why he didn't release more—and most of all, why he didn't accompany the release with a bold plan for taming the jungle through tax reform—were mysteries that had strategists across the country scratching their heads. More than one used the word *malpractice*.

But Romney has stumbled before and righted himself; he isn't a gifted campaigner, but he is a dogged one. He also has up to \$10 million available to bombard Floridians with the contradictions and shortcomings of a man who was reprimanded by the House Ethics Committee, paid a \$300,000 fine for misleading Congress and griped that he wasn't treated respectfully enough on Air Force One.

And after Florida, Romney aides say, the battle shifts to more favorable turf for their man. A few days later come Nevada, with its large Mormon population. Then come caucuses in Minnesota and Colorado and a primary in Missouri; in the latter, Gingrich did not even make the ballot. Then come Michigan, Romney's native state, which he won in 2008, and Arizona, where the campaign also feels confident. That could be do or die for Romney, because the race returns in a big way to Gingrich country on March 6, when many of the remaining Southern states size up the man from Georgia alongside a Mitt from Massachusetts.

If Gingrich prevails between now and then, though, this unlikely story could be down to its last big plot twist. In this one, a party that has spoken of little other than beating Obama decides at the last moment that other things matter more. Sure, Gingrich is among the least popular politicians in America, according to the Gallup poll, with more than half the people in the country holding an unfavorable opinion of him. Why should their opinions matter more than the opinion of Barbara Marks of Laughlin, Nev., who drove across the country to celebrate the Gingrich win in South Carolina? "The other candidates have no clue what we're up against," she said as she basked at the bomb thrower's ball. "He might not succeed, but he'll die trying."

—WITH REPORTING BY ALEX ALTMAN WITH GINGRICH AND JAY NEWTON-SMALL, MICHAEL SCHERER AND KATY STEINMETZ/
WASHINGTON

The Dealer. Why Sheldon Adelson is staking millions on Newt Gingrich

BY MICHAEL CROWLEY

SHELDON ADELSON TENDS TO ACT on an epic scale. The 78-year-old Las Vegas casino mogul sits on a \$21.5 billion fortune that puts him at No. 8 on *Forbes* magazine's list of the richest Americans, a notch behind George Soros. And that's after he lost 95% of his fortune in the 2008 financial crash. Today he owns the \$1.5 billion Venetian hotel in Las Vegas, where gondolas ply man-made canals, and a \$2.4 billion equivalent in Macau that is one of the world's largest buildings. Adelson has boasted that his 14 private planes, including a Boeing 747, constitute the world's largest private air fleet. "Everything he does is passionate and big," says Adelson's friend Abe Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League.

So it makes sense that when Adelson puts his money in politics, he doesn't dabble. With a pair of big behind-the-scenes bets, Adelson has changed the trajectory of the 2012 presidential race. After his friend Newt Gingrich fizzled with a fourth-place finish in Iowa, Adelson donated a stunning \$5 million to a pro-Gingrich super PAC whose blistering attacks on Mitt Romney positioned Gingrich for his victory in South Carolina. And now, days before Florida's Jan. 31 primary, Adelson has given \$5 million more to Winning Our Future, which is run by two former top Gingrich aides and which quickly bought a huge chunk of Sunshine State airtime to boost Newt—and hammer Romney.

That's why some people call Adelson the most important person in the presi-

dential race who isn't actually running. "Sheldon is in a position to play a super-size role, and he's playing it," says former George W. Bush White House spokesman Ari Fleischer, who has worked with Adelson but is neutral in the primary race. "He believes in Newt Gingrich. He thinks Newt Gingrich has the best answers. And his contribution in South Carolina allowed Newt to have a second chance."

An Adelson associate who has known Gingrich for almost 20 years says the personal trumps the political: "It's based upon their friendship. It's an act of loyalty." But clearly, it's also about policy. While Adelson and Gingrich share conservative views on issues like taxes and labor unions (Adelson has cracked that "Attila the Hun was too liberal for me"), it's foreign affairs—specifically U.S. policy toward Israel and Iran—that most animate the Vegas tycoon. Adelson is a fierce defender of the Jewish state and a

peace-process hard-liner. The Palestinians, he said in a recent interview, "don't want the Jews or any other religion to be alive."

Gingrich shares similarly sharp views about the region. He has questioned the authenticity of the Palestinians' territorial claims. Asked in December how he'd handle a call from Israel announcing imminent air strikes on Iran, Gingrich said he'd reply, "How can we help you?" "This is a long-standing relationship between Newt and Sheldon because of Newt's support for the state of Israel, and as a result of that, he backed Newt from Day One," says Adelson's friend Fred Zeidman, a prominent Jewish Republican.

NO ONE WOULD HAVE PREDICTED THAT the young Sheldon Adelson would influence world politics. He grew up poor, born in Dorchester, Mass., the son of a Lithuanian Jewish immigrant cabdriver. For a time, Adelson, his parents, two brothers and a sister all shared one bedroom behind a storefront where his mother ran a knitting shop. Born with an entrepreneurial knack—he started a candy-vending operation as a teen—Adelson dropped out of college and peddled sundry products like hotel toiletries and a windshield-deicing fluid. After stints as a mortgage broker and a tour-business operator, he struck it rich in the 1980s by starting and then selling an annual tech conference based in Las Vegas. He used those proceeds to build a hotel and casino empire that now includes the Sands, Venetian and Palazzo in Las Vegas and even more-lucrative Asian properties.

Adelson's rivals say he is a brutish, grudge-bearing bully. Adelson conceded his rough edges in a 2010 ABC interview: "I'm talking not from a white-shoe background or from a privileged background," he said. "I'm talking [as] someone who wore his skin down on his fingers trying to climb the ladder of success." Friends like Foxman insist he has a big heart—for instance, giving longtime financial support to a Florida landlord who let Adelson fall behind on his rent when he was a struggling young entrepreneur.

That generosity now extends to Gingrich, whom Adelson met in the mid-1990s, when Gingrich was Speaker of the House. The men shared strong views on Israel and labor unions, against whom Adelson has fought bitterly. They remained close after

Miriam Adelson gave \$5 million for "pro-Newt messaging"





Guardian angel
Adelson is reshaping the
GOP presidential race

Gingrich left Congress: beginning in 2006 Adelson donated \$7 million to Gingrich's political action group American Solutions for Winning the Future, which pressed conservative themes on energy and Social Security.

But foreign policy is central to Adelson's politics. In 2007 he was the top donor behind the conservative political action group Freedom's Watch, which spent \$15 million on advertising in support of the Iraq war. He also founded a conservative Israeli newspaper that has given influential support to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. "His first passion and love is America, and his second passion and love is Israel and the security, safety and well-being of the Jewish people," says Foxman.

Some observers have accused Gingrich of amping up his rhetoric about Israel to please his patron. After Gingrich declared the Palestinians an "invented people" in December, Adelson said Gingrich had told the

"truth." He wrote his first check to Winning Our Future—which can raise and spend unlimited amounts but not coordinate with Gingrich's campaign—a month later.

Romney's supporters were outraged by the pro-Gingrich super PAC's counterattacks in South Carolina, which included ads charging that Romney, while an executive at Bain Capital, had looted companies to enrich himself and left workers jobless. One Romney supporter, former White House chief of staff John Sununu, even warned that Adelson's investors would remember the attacks on corporate practices, adding of the casino boss, "You kind of feel sorry for people that aren't that bright." People who know Adelson say a man worth roughly the

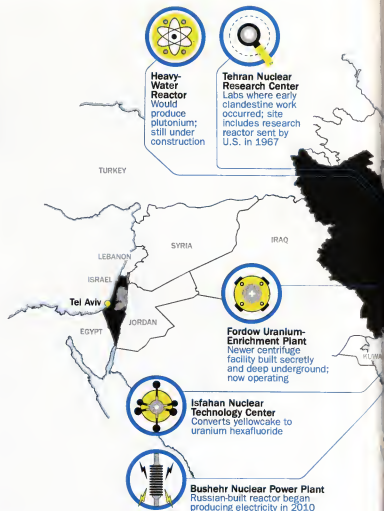
annual GDP of Bolivia probably isn't worried about offending other businessmen. If anything, Sununu's ad hominem shot may have goaded the combative mogul; it certainly didn't dissuade him from giving a second \$5 million.

A source close to Adelson reports that the latest donation—technically from his Israeli-born second wife Miriam—was made to fund "pro-Newt messaging," an implicit way of saying the Adelsons aren't wild about the bark-stripping blasts at Romney, whom Adelson knows and likes. Yet a day after the latest Adelson donation was announced, Winning Our Future unveiled a harsh new ad painting Romney as a closet liberal who "invented government-run health care." It must be frustrating for Romney to find his chances suddenly threatened from the corner office of a Las Vegas casino empire. After all, everyone knows that in Vegas, the house always wins. ■

Can Israel Stop Iran's Nuke Effort?

Too many targets—and too much bedrock—might make a knockout blow unlikely

BY KARL VICK/JERUSALEM



THE POTENTIAL TARGETS ARE scattered and hidden all over Iran. They range from a uranium mine in the middle of the country to a nuclear power plant on the Persian Gulf coast to a complex in the northwest doing research on the use of atomic science in agriculture. There is an underground uranium-enrichment facility about a three-hour drive south of Tehran, centrifuges spinning outside the holy city of Qum and a precision-tools factory that makes them in Mashhad, way over by the Turkmenistan border. These are nearly a third of the suspected sites for the much prophesied nuclear Iran that Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu calls “an existential threat” to his country.

The threat of an Israeli attack has for years been a component in the international campaign to get Iran to halt its nuclear program—as have ever more stringent economic sanctions. “All options, including military action, should remain on the table,” says Colin Kahl,



Natanz Enrichment Facility
Partly underground; two large halls of centrifuges; main enrichment center

Bandar Abbas Uranium Production Plant
Processes uranium ore extracted from the Gchine mine, near the Port of Bandar

Kaveh Cutting-Tools Complex
Centrifuge-parts manufacturer



F-15
The I stands for Israel; the specially outfitted F-15 has extra fuel tanks



Eitan
Wide as a 737, Israel's "eye in the sky" can carry out cyberwarfare or transport bombs



S-300
Iran's major defenses are advanced mobile surface-to-air missile units

tral Iranian city of Natanz, Israel had already taken possession of F-15s, U.S.-made fighter-bombers specially outfitted to carry the extra fuel needed to reach the Islamic Republic. Israel also has scores of F-16 fighters modified to escort the bombers, enough satellites to keep images of Iran arriving around the clock and fleets of drones, a technology Israel pioneered. The mammoth Eitan, wide as a 737, can carry either bombs or cyberwarfare gear programmed to jam Iranian radar, communications and computers.

Twelve months after the Natanz plant was revealed, Israel demonstrated the range of the F-15 by sending three of them 1,600 miles (almost 2,600 km) to Poland, ostensibly for a ceremonial role in the anniversary of the Polish air force. On the way back, the craft staged a flyover above the Auschwitz death camp. For the sake of comparison, Tel Aviv is just short of 1,000 miles (1,600 km) from Tehran.

Lessons of History

IF ISRAEL IS PLAYING THE BAD COP TO Washington's good cop in some tag-team effort at marshaling global resolve to confront Iran, that doesn't mean the talk of an Israeli strike is just talk. "I don't think it's bluster," says Anthony Cordesman of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. "One wave can do a lot, depending on the quality of the penetrating munitions and the targeting abilities."

Besides, Israel has done something similar before. Twice. In 1987, Israeli F-16 fighter-bombers destroyed the Osirak nuclear reactor in Iraq in a daring surprise strike. In 2007 a secret Syrian reactor in the desert west of Damascus was leveled in a midnight raid that Israel still does not officially acknowledge.

But this time is different. Iran learned a lesson from the assault on the Osirak reactor. When leaders of the authoritarian theocracy quietly revived Iran's moribund nuclear program, setting out to master every step and obtain every component in the entire nuclear fuel cycle, they took care to scatter their facilities across a half-million square miles (1.3 million sq km). The most critical facilities of all, housing the centrifuges that enrich uranium, went underground. Military experts say reaching them all would require an air campaign of hundreds of sorties and would have to last for weeks. Think of the extended opening salvos of the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003 rather than the lightning strike on Osirak.

"I think a modern air force like the U.S. Air Force can deal with it easily," said a former senior official from Israel's security establishment in a recent background

until recently deputy assistant secretary of defense for the Middle East, "but force should be a last resort, not a first choice." If it is the final option, would it solve the problem? How much punishment could Israel—or the U.S., for that matter—inflict? And would it be enough to stop Iran from getting the bomb?

A senior Israeli official serving in the country's security apparatus tells TIME that Netanyahu's Cabinet was advised in late September that the Israel Defense Forces lack the ability to deal a decisive blow to Iran's atomic effort. "I informed the Cabinet we have no ability to hit the Iranian nuclear program in a meaningful way," the official quoted a senior commander as saying. "If I get the order, I will do it, but we don't have the ability to hit in a meaningful way."

The key word is *meaningful*. The working assumption behind Israel's military preparations has been that a strike, to be worth mounting, must delay Tehran's nuclear capabilities by at least two years. But given the wide geographic disper-

sion of Iran's atomic facilities, combined with the limits of Israel's air armada, the Jewish state can expect to push back the Iranian program by only a matter of months—a year at most, according to the official. He attributes that estimate to the Israel Atomic Energy Commission, which is charged with assessing the likely effect of a strike.

It is not that Israel cannot do damage; it can. The U.S. commitment to keeping Israel's military dominant in the Middle East—in the policymakers' phrase, "Israel's qualitative military edge"—allowed it to lock in on Iran's nuclear ambitions years before most of the world had any clue what Tehran was up to. U.S. military aid, which in 2011 was \$3 billion, allowed Israel to lift its gaze beyond its immediate neighbors and begin assembling an arsenal to confront an Iranian threat that Israeli leaders began warning about in the mid-'90s.

By August 2002, when published satellite photos revealed an underground enrichment plant being built in the cen-

briefing with foreign reporters. And Israel's air force? "I say, 'U.S. Air Force,'" the official repeated with a smile.

It's unclear how effective any air force will be against the main targets. The massive enrichment facility at Natanz may be vulnerable to Israel's bunker busters, even six stories underground. But Iran this month announced that centrifuges are spinning in the new Fordow facility outside Qum, which is thought to be protected by a shelf of rock more than 260 ft. (80 m) thick. That may be beyond the reach even of the Massive Ordnance Penetrator, a 30,000-lb. (13,600 kg) bomb built for the U.S. Air Force and delivered in recent weeks to B-2 stealth bombers newly modified to carry it.

Plus, getting the necessary ordnance over the targets isn't easily done. "The Israelis just don't have the reach to launch a sustained campaign," says Tim Ripley, a Middle East defense analyst for *Jane's Defence Weekly*. In "Mission Improbable," his report assessing the prospects of an Israeli strike, Ripley notes that Israel lacks aircraft carriers or other forward bases to shorten the distance to Iran. Which means that in order to reach targets more than 1,000 miles away, Israel must rely on aerial-tanker planes to refuel scores of fighters en route, on the way back or even in both directions should pilots find themselves doing a lot of maneuvering. And Israel has only a handful of such flying filling stations. "The Israelis have loads of fighters," says Ripley. "But it's not quite like the U.S. Air Force, which has got hundreds of tankers."

The sheer number of targets makes any strike even more daunting, says Yiftah Shapir, a former Israeli Air Force intelligence officer whose duties involved planning for such strikes. "What you really have to calculate is not targets but aiming points," says Shapir, now an analyst at the Institute for National Security Studies in Tel Aviv. "Each target has numerous aiming points," Shapir tells TIME. "A strike could be done, but it could never do the damage we did to Osirak, where Osirak was all they had."

Cordesman reckons Israel probably has enough aircraft and enough range to do serious damage to 10 to 12 of Iran's atomic facilities. But damaged labs can be rebuilt, he notes, and Iran has announced plans for 10 new enrichment sites—further dispersing later-generation centrifuges in places smaller, harder to locate and easier to harden. The issue, Cordesman says, is not simply capability but consequences. "If anyone tells you this is sort of binary, either 'Yeah, they can do it' or 'Oh, no, they

What if Iran Mined the Strait of Hormuz?

Cutting off the 20-mile-wide (32 km) waterway would shut down 20% of the global oil trade, sending the world into recession. Tactically, the U.S. could do the following, but the consequences of military action are unforeseeable



can't,' they don't know what they're talking about," he says. "Israel is going to act strategically. It's going to look at the political outcome of what it says and does, not simply measure this in terms of some computer game and what the immediate tactical impact is."

One forgotten lesson of Osirak is that, as a consequence, Saddam Hussein took his nuclear weapons program into the shadows and got much closer to a bomb before the rest of the world caught wind of his intentions. An attack on Iran, even one led by the U.S., might produce only a temporary halt in its nuclear program—and a greater resolve to develop weapons out of sight of international inspectors, if only to buttress Iranian security in years to come.

Whatever the state of Israel's military preparation, the countdown to war seems to have slowed in recent days. An accelerating cascade of events—the overrunning of Britain's diplomatic compounds in Tehran, the assassination of yet another Iranian nuclear scientist and a genuinely bellicose back-and-forth over whether Iran could shut down oil traffic through the Strait of Hormuz—threatened to generate momentum toward war just when sanctions were growing teeth. After 20 years of indecision, the European Union agreed to an embargo on Iranian oil, and Japan,

Turkey and even China were seeking alternative suppliers

A suddenly chummier joint front between Washington and Tel Aviv will keep Tehran guessing. A visit to Israel by U.S. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Martin Dempsey underscored how close cooperation remains between the allies, however fraught the relationship between Netanyahu and President Obama. Israel and the U.S. postponed a joint military exercise originally set for May, which would have brought Patriot missile batteries to Israel to supplement its own air defenses. Because missile attacks from Iran's proxies Hizballah in Lebanon and Islamic Jihad and Hamas in the Gaza Strip would be the first signs of retaliation for any Israeli attack on Tehran, the postponement of additional Patriot defenses was seen as a sign that the region was, at least for the moment, not in a rush to war.

Two days after the postponement, Israeli Defense Minister Ehud Barak said any decision on launching an attack on Iran "was very far away." —WITH REPORTING BY AARON J. KLEIN/TEL AVIV AND MARK THOMPSON AND MASSIMO CALABRESI/WASHINGTON ■

TO SEE A POSSIBLE U.S. RESPONSE TO A STRAIT OF HORMUZ CRISIS, GO TO TIME.COM/HORMUZCRISIS



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ENVIRONMENT

Rain Forest for Ransom

Ecuador's demand: Pay us or we'll drill for oil in the Amazon.

Should the world say yes? By Bryan Walsh/Yasuni National Park

Photographs by Sebastian Listé for TIME



Heart of the forest
*Ecuador's Napo River feeds
into the Amazon in oil-rich
Yasuni National Park*

THE CANOES SLIP FROM THE dock, the morning mist still clinging to Anangucocha Lake in eastern Ecuador's Yasuni National Park. The Amazon rain forest has yet to fully awaken. Then a small squirrel monkey scurries along a branch arching over the river, followed by another and then another. Soon the trees are full of families of bounding squirrel monkeys. This is wildlife—more vibrant than I've ever seen—treating the great Amazon forest like a playpen. "There are such wonders here," says Luis García, a 46-year-old nature guide and native of the region. "This is why Yasuni is a paradise."

Yasuni National Park—a reserve covering nearly 4,000 sq. mi. on the western fringes of the Amazon basin—is indeed a paradise, considered by many scientists to be the most biodiverse spot on the planet. But it's a paradise in danger of being lost. Oil companies have found rich deposits beneath the park's trees and rivers, nearly 900 million barrels of crude worth billions of dollars. That's money that Ecuador—a small South American country in which a third of the population lives below the poverty line and petroleum already accounts for more than half its export revenue—badly needs, money that oil companies and consumers will be happy to provide if drilling is allowed to go forward. If Ecuador follows the usual path of development, that's what will happen—with disastrous consequences for the park. "Yasuni is a truly unique place in the world," says Gorky Villa, an Ecuadorian botanist who works with the conservation group Finding Species. "Our concern is that it will be ruined before we can even understand it."

But there may be another way. Ecuadorian President Rafael Correa has told the international community that his country would be willing to forgo drilling and leave Yasuni largely intact in exchange for donations equal to \$3.6 billion over 13 years, or about half the expected market value of the park's oil deposits. The plan—known as the Yasuni-ITT Initiative, after the name of the reserve's oil field—would conserve Yasuni's unique biodiversity and prevent the emission of more than 800 million tons of carbon dioxide, an amount equal to Germany's annual greenhouse-gas footprint.

The Yasuni plan would be a first for global environmental policy: recognition that the international community has a financial responsibility to help developing nations preserve nature. "Oil is by far the most important part of Ecuador's economy," says Carlos Larrea, a professor at Andean University and a technical adviser on the Yasuni project. "But we are willing to keep that oil indefinitely unexploited if the international community contributes." Of course, from another perspective, the Yasuni initiative might look like environmental blackmail: Pay us or the forest gets it.

There is, however, no ignoring the essential justice of the plan. If we all really do have a shared stake in the natural heritage represented by hot spots like Yasuni, then we have a shared responsibility to help a poor country preserve it. "We need these resources to develop the country, but we're also responsible people who want to protect Yasuni," Correa said in New York late last year. "If the poor don't receive direct benefits from conservation, conservation won't be sustainable."

In part because it is still relatively uninhabited and undeveloped—canoes are the only way in and out—it's rare to spend more than a few minutes on the creeks that crisscross Yasuni before you catch sight of a fat dragonfly, a rainbow boa or a golden lion tamarin. "When you go to Yasuni, you will always find new species," says David Romo, an Ecuadorian biologist who has done fieldwork in the park. "It would take us 400 years just to name all the insect species out there." There are estimated to be 100,000 insects per hectare, the highest concentration on earth. More woody-tree species—655 by one count—grow in a single hectare of rain forest in Yasuni than in all of North America. The park is home to 28 threatened or near threatened vertebrate species—including the white-bellied spider monkey and the giant river otter, which can grow to nearly 7 ft.—and 95 threatened or near threatened plant species. It is a bird watcher's paradise, with nearly 600 species, including white-throated toucans, the phoenixlike hoatzin and vast swarms of parrots.

What's even more amazing is how much of that life is stuffed into such a small



Protected for now
Yasuni National Park
is considered by many
scientists to be the
most biodiverse spot
left on the planet

land area. Yasuni harbors nearly one-third of the Amazon basin's amphibian and reptile species, despite covering less than 0.15% of its total area. That's due in part to its unique location at the intersection of the Andes, the Amazon and the equator, which fosters high rainfall and a steady climate: the perfect formula to help life flourish. "The world created a piggy bank of life in Yasuni," says Romo. "The park represents a chance for saving biodiversity in the future—and we have to protect it."

Conservationists fear the effects of oil drilling in and around Yasuni because they've seen the damage that energy exploration can do to nature, and no one knows that better than Ecuadorians. The oil giant Texaco has been accused of polluting vast stretches of the Ecuadorian Amazon with its operations there in the 1970s and '80s, and the company, now owned by Chevron, is involved in a long-running \$27 billion lawsuit over the damages—the world's biggest environmental case ever.

But it doesn't take spills and corporate negligence for drilling to disrupt an intact forest. Exploration requires pipelines, camps and roads, which would cut through the park and lead to direct deforestation. And those roads would bring colonization, which would lead to secondary deforestation, fragmentation



of habitats and intensified hunting and fishing. A 2006 study showed that the Via Maxus, a road on the northeastern border of Yasuni, had 40% less mammal abundance than an intact area in the forest's interior.

If Yasuni is what it is largely because people are absent—with the exception of a few indigenous tribes that live deep within the forest—the amount of industrialization and human activity required to pump 846 million barrels of oil out of the ground would change the park irrevocably. "God gave us the gift of this rich place," says Jiovanny Rivadeneira, general manager of the Napo Wildlife Center, an eco-lodge on the edge of Yasuni. "If there's any oil exploration, we'll feel it first."

If the Yasuni-ITT Initiative moves forward, all of that might be prevented. The plan would require Ecuador to refrain from extracting the oil contained in Yasuni indefinitely in exchange for at least \$3.6 billion—half the value of the crude as of 2010—which would go into a capital fund to be administered chiefly



by the U.N. Development Programme. That money would be earmarked for investment in renewable-energy projects in Ecuador and social development for indigenous communities in and around Yasuni. As a guarantee, should a future Ecuadorian government decide to go ahead and drill for oil despite the deal, donors would essentially get their money back. "This is the only complete initiative that

is out there that is a concrete proposal on how to govern global public goods," says María Fernanda Espinosa, Ecuador's Minister of Coordination of Heritage. "The international trust fund is the mechanism for it."

Although Ecuador has so far managed to gather \$116 million in commitments from a number of countries and even some individuals, the international community seems unconvinced for the most part. Norway—which has used its oil money to fund anti-deforestation programs in Brazil and Indonesia—has so far passed on the plan. Hopes were high that Germany would come through with a major contri-

bution, but so far there's little indication that an increasingly donation-fatigued Berlin is interested. The U.S.'s failure to pass cap-and-trade legislation largely dashed hopes that American money would play a major role in the Yasuni initiative. The future of the plan is cloudy at best: though the project met a Dec. 31 deadline to raise at least \$100 million, Ecuador is looking to secure nearly \$300 million over the next two years. "We're renouncing an immense sum of money," Correa said in September. "For us, the most financially lucrative option is to extract the gasoline."

Even if more nations were in a spending mood, could Ecuador be trusted? The country had seven Presidents and two constitutions from 1996 to 2006, and in 2008, Correa declared Ecuador's national debt illegitimate. In 2010 he was nearly ejected from power in a violent coup. He has fired many of the ministers who first championed the Yasuni project and has cracked down on the media and the opposition. None of this makes Ecuador seem an ideal partner for a complex deal like the Yasuni initiative. "We haven't been the most stable country politically," says Natalia Greene, program coordinator for the Pachamama Foundation, an NGO that focuses on indigenous communities. "We need to send the world a message of trust for this to work."

In reality, the chance of success seems to lessen by the day, but the issues raised by the Yasuni project won't go away. South America is becoming an increasingly important oil producer—the continent holds 20% of the world's proven reserves—and much of that crude is buried in and around the Amazon basin. That puts the rain forest in mortal peril: as the global need for oil grows, we're like drug addicts willing to pawn our valuables to pay for the next fix. Yet the financial burden of protecting our most biodiverse forests—nearly all found in developing nations—can't fall only on poor nations like Ecuador. Each of us benefits from the existence of forest reserves like Yasuni, and each of us should share in the cost of preserving them. If we can't protect the rain forest in Yasuni from the drive for oil, we may not be able to protect it anywhere else.

THE
UPSIDE
OF BEING AN

Introvert

(AND WHY EXTROVERTS ARE OVERRATED)

BY BRYAN WALSH

I'M IN THE BATHROOM OF THE AMERICAN embassy in Tokyo, and I can't leave. Somewhere in the elegant rooms beyond, the ambassador is holding his annual holiday party. Diplomats from around the world, U.S. military personnel and reporters are mingling, sipping Champagne and picking at hors d'oeuvres. As TIME's Tokyo bureau chief, I should be there, trolling for gossip or mining potential sources.

And for 20 minutes or so after arriving, despite the usual nerves, I did just that. But small talk with stiff-backed strangers at a swanky cocktail party is by far my least favorite part of my job. Send me to a famine or a flood and I'm comfortable. A few rounds of the room at a social event, however, leave me exhausted. So now and then I retreat into the solitude of the bathroom,

watching the minutes tick by until I've recovered enough to go back out there.

My name is Bryan, and I'm an introvert. If this scene sounds familiar to you, then chances are that you're one too.

We're not alone, even if it sometimes feels that way. By some estimates, 30% of all people fall on the introvert end of the temperament spectrum—but it takes some explaining to understand just what that label means. For one thing, introverted does not have to mean shy, though there is overlap. Shyness is a form of anxiety characterized by inhibited behavior. It also implies a fear of social judgment that can be crippling. Shy people actively seek to avoid social situations, even ones they might want to take part in, because they may be inhibited by fear. Introverts



LOUD (AND QUIET) GIANTS. IT TAKES BOTH KINDS TO MAKE HISTORY

Introvers



MOHANDAS GANDHI

Revolutionary

Gandhi changed the direction of an entire nation, but he was always an inward-looking parson, at ease on his own—and in his own skin



JOE DIMAGGIO

Baseball Hall of Famer

The Yankee great was not shy at the plate, but he withered in the glare of his marriage to Marilyn Monroe and was reticent in retirement



MOSES

Religious leader

The Bible records that Moses was afraid to become the voice of God. Though Moses overcame his fear, his extroverted brother Aaron would serve as his mouthpiece



HILLARY CLINTON

Secretary of State

The debate in 2008 was whether Clinton was likeable. If that quality came hard for her, it's because she lacks the gregariousness of her husband. The very public woman is actually very private too



WARREN BUFFETT

Magistrate

Buffett has said that one of the most important traits for investing is having the right temperament—and his introverted, cautious personality clearly works



MANMOHAN SINGH

Prime Minister

For a man who governs the world's second most populous country, Singh is notably self-effacing, a lifelong technocrat who isn't always comfortable in rough-and-tumble Indian politics



BILL GATES

CEO, philanthropist

Gates has the ferocious focus that allowed him to spend thousands of hours writing code, and he still seems more comfortable with technology than he is with people



MOTHER TERESA

Nun, missionary

People were often shocked at just how soft-spoken this nun from Albania could be in person, but that didn't stop her from becoming a larger-than-life figure

shun social situations because, Greta Garbo-style, they simply want to be alone.

"Introverted people aren't bothered by social situations," says Louis Schmidt, director of the Child Emotion Laboratory at McMaster University in Ontario. "They just prefer not to engage." While extroverts draw energy from mingling with large groups of people—picture former President and extrovert in chief Bill Clinton joyously working a rope line—introverts find such social interactions taxing.

Simply being an introvert can also feel taxing—especially in America, land of the loud and home of the talkative. From classrooms built around group learning to open-plan offices that encourage endless meetings, it sometimes seems that the quality of your work has less value than the volume of your voice.

And as if the world weren't slanted enough toward the extrovert, study after study has made sociability seem like a prerequisite for good health, right along with low cholesterol and frequent exercise. Very shy and introverted people have been shown to succumb more rapidly to diseases like HIV and to be at greater risk for depression than their extroverted counterparts. In schools, it's the bolder kids who get attention from teachers, while quiet children can too easily languish in the back of the classroom. "Our culture expects people to be outgoing and sociable," says Christopher Lane, an English professor at Northwestern University and the author of *Shyness: How Normal Behavior Became a Sickness*. "It's the unstated norm, and against that norm introverts stand out as seemingly problematic."

But that unstated norm discounts

the hidden benefits of the introverted temperament—for workplaces, personal relationships and society as a whole. Introverts may be able to fit all their friends in a phone booth, but those relationships tend to be deep and rewarding. Introverts are more cautious and deliberate than extroverts, but that means they tend to think things through more thoroughly, which means they can often make smarter decisions. Introverts are better at listening—which, after all, is easier to do if you're not talking—and that in turn can make them better business leaders, especially if their employees feel empowered to act on their own initiative. And simply by virtue of their ability to sit still and focus, introverts find it easier to spend long periods in solitary work, which turns out to be the best way to come up with a fresh idea or master a skill.

Introversion and extroversion aren't fixed categories—there's a personality spectrum, and many, known as ambiverts,

fall in the gap between the two traits—but they are vital to our personality. "Our tendency to be extroverted or introverted is as profound a part of our identities as our gender," says Susan Cain, author of the new book *Quiet: The Power of Introverts in a World That Can't Stop Talking*. "But there's a subtle bias against introverts, and it's generating a waste of talent and energy and happiness." It may be time for America to learn the forgotten rewards of sitting down and shutting up.

Born This Way

IF YOU WANT TO KNOW HOW TOUGH A society of extroverts can be for introverts and how quiet types can learn to adapt, you could do worse than talk to Cain. A graduate of Harvard Law School—not an institution known for churning out timid folks—she practiced corporate law for seven years before she began writing full time. During most of those years in the legal system, she hated what she did. Not every day—Cain loved research and writing—but it soon became clear that her soft-spoken, introspective temperament might not have been the best fit for a high-powered law firm. Eventually she left law and began working on her own, coaching clients in negotiating skills and working as a writer. "When I started practicing the law, I thought the ideal lawyer was bold and comfortable in the spotlight, but I was none of those things," says Cain. "I could fake those things, but it wasn't my natural self."

Faking it is exactly what a lot of introverts learn to do from an early age. And that masquerade covers up something primal and deep. Scientists have begun to

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Extroverts



BILL CLINTON
President

The White House has mostly been occupied by extroverted men, perhaps none so much as Clinton. Crowds that would exhaust others serve only to energize him



MARGARET THATCHER
Prime Minister

The Iron Lady was no shrinking violet. Thatcher's extroverted personality helped her bull her way through British sexism to become the country's first female Prime Minister



STEVE JOBS
Innovator

Jobs was a born salesman, comfortable with demanding the world's attention. An exacting boss, he knew how to get the best ideas from his workers, even if he earned the enmity of some



BORIS YELTSIN
President

Yeltsin had a flair for the dramatic—like standing on a tank as he defied a 1991 coup—and loved the stage. But his injudicious impulsiveness ruined his time in office



MARIE ANTOINETTE
Queen

The original royal party girl did not endear herself to her French subjects, nor was she a great fit for the painfully shy Louis XVI



MUHAMMAD ALI
Boxer

He called himself the Greatest, he was as much a performer as a slugger, and it took Parkinson's disease to slow him down—a little. Sound like an introvert to you?



WINSTON CHURCHILL
Politician

Churchill had a limitless supply of energy—and a limitless taste for drink. But he didn't let that get in the way of his work, including writing—he won the Nobel Prize in Literature for his memoirs



GEORGE W. BUSH
Politician

Bush played the stereotype of the backslapping Texan to the fullest and loved the campaign trail. But his inattention to detail often hobbled his Administration

learn that the introverted or extroverted temperament seems strongly inborn and inherited, influencing our behavior from not long after we're out of the womb.

That was the conclusion of a pioneering series of experiments by Harvard developmental psychologist Jerome Kagan. In a 1989 study, he and his colleagues gathered a sample group of 500 4-month-old infants and exposed them to new experiences in the lab, including popping balloons, colorful mobiles and the smell of alcohol on cotton swabs. About 20% of the infants reacted intensely to the stimuli, crying and pumping their arms. About 40% stayed relatively quiet, and the remaining 40% fell between the two extremes.

Kagan predicted that the infants who had the most noticeable responses—the group he called high-reactive—would likely be introverted as adolescents, whereas low-reactives would likely be extroverted. When he brought his subjects back into the lab as they grew older, his hypothesis proved true: high-reactive infants matured into more inhibited, introverted teenagers. "There's a strong footprint on temperament that you see early in life," says Dr. Carl Schwartz, a psychiatrist at Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston and a former student of Kagan's. "It's not deterministic, but if you're a highly reactive baby, you're less likely to become a bond trader or Bill Clinton."

Psychologist Elaine Aron, author of the 1997 book *The Highly Sensitive Person*, explains what's behind this. People who are introverts by nature, she says, may simply have a lower threshold for stimulation than others. It doesn't take too many popped balloons and crowded

rooms before they learn to compensate by keeping a low, quiet profile, conserving their limited energy. The definition of hell for an introvert isn't other people—not exactly. But people are stimuli, and a cocktail party or brainstorming session full of them can blow their neural circuits. So they limit their exposure. Meanwhile, extroverts are a little bit like addicts who are always in search of a high, seeking out stimuli—in the healthier form of social situations—that would make an introvert's head ring.

In studies conducted with functional magnetic resonance imagers, Schwartz found that the amygdalae in the brains of those original high-reactive subjects—now adults—tend to light up when they're shown pictures of unfamiliar faces, while the amygdalae of low-reactive subjects show less activity. That makes sense: the amygdala processes fearful stimuli, among other functions, and the introvert's first reaction to new people or

experiences is usually guarded caution. "It's not genes or the environment alone that drive this," says Schwartz. "It's the environment in dialogue with the genes."

Quiet Babies, Fretful Parents

CAUTION, INHIBITION AND EVEN FEARFULNESS may be healthy—and smart—adaptations for the overstimulated person, but they're still not characteristics many parents would want in their children, especially in a society that lionizes the bold. So it's common for moms and dads of introverted offspring to press their kids to be more outgoing, lest they end up overlooked in class and later in life. That, however, can be a mistake—and not just because our temperaments are difficult to change fundamentally.

The very fact that introverts are more sensitive to their environment often means they're fully aware that they appear out of step with the expectations of others, and they can easily internalize that criticism. Just about every adult introvert can remember being scolded, even if gently, for being too quiet as a kid. Anytime a teacher grades on classroom participation, introverted kids will be at a disadvantage. There's nothing wrong with parents nudging their shy children into the world, but there is something wrong if it's more than a nudge. "You don't want to break the kid by overwhelming their coping capacity," says Jay Belsky, a psychologist at the University of California at Davis. "The key is sensitive encouragement."

But introverts also have tremendous advantages. Sure, there are thrills to be found in the situations extroverts crave, but there are dangers too. Extroverts are

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The Campaign



BARACK OBAMA

Obama is known to carve out time alone and isn't a fan of schmoozing at D.C. political parties. He has the temperament of the writer he was before politics

INTROVERT



NEWT GINGRICH

Is there any doubt here? Whether you like Newt or not, he is undeniably an outsize personality—brash, loud, smart and unafraid (indeed, seemingly eager) to offend

EXTROVERT



MITT ROMNEY

A man who's spent five years running for President ought to be an extrovert, but Romney's relative reserve and moderation put him just on the other side of the scale

INTROVERT



RICK SANTORUM

Sweater-vests aside, Santorum is tough. In the House, he was part of the Gang of Seven antirecession caucus. The fights he's picked on social issues—wise or not—aren't timid

EXTROVERT



RON PAUL

A doctor before he became a politician, Paul shares Obama's scholarly mien. Workiness doesn't have to mean introversion (look at Bill Clinton), but in this case it does

INTROVERT

more likely than introverts to be hospitalized as the result of an injury, for example, and they're more likely to have affairs or change relationships frequently, with all the collateral damage that can entail. And while we all seek rewards, extroverts may be too hungry for them. That can lead them to be ambitious, which is fine, but it may also make them prioritize ambition over avoiding serious risks, which is not. "Extroverts are much more likely to get really excited by the possibility of a reward, but because of that, they won't always pay attention to warning signals," says Cain. "Introverts are much more circumspect."

What happens when people chase rewards—particularly the financial kind—while ignoring the attendant risks of catastrophe and collapse? You get train wrecks like the economic crisis of 2008 and 2009, for which extroverts may deserve a lot of the blame. Camelia Kuhn of Northwestern University's Kellogg School of Management found in a study that a variation of a dopamine-regulating gene associated with thrill seeking is a strong predictor of financial risk taking. People with a gene variant linked to introversion, on the other hand, took 28% less financial risk than others. And this applies beyond finance. The overconfidence that characterizes many extroverts can lead to grave political mistakes like the failed Bay of Pigs invasion, in which President John F. Kennedy—a supreme extrovert—failed to foresee the strength of the opposition in Cuba.

Studies also show that introverts tend to be better gamblers because they have

so keen an awareness of risk. It's no coincidence that Warren Buffett, the world's greatest investor, is widely considered to be a homebody, happier reading annual reports or playing bridge than going out and socializing.

The introvert advantage isn't only about avoiding trouble—for yourself or the global financial system. Florida State University psychologist K. Anders Ericsson believes that deliberate practice—training conducted in solitude, with no partner or teammate—is key to achieving transcendent skill, whether in a sport, in a vocation or with a musical instrument. In one study, Ericsson and some of his colleagues asked professors at the Music Academy in Berlin to divide violinists into three groups, ranging from those who would likely go on to professional careers to those who would become teachers instead of performers. The researchers asked the violinists to keep diaries and found that all three groups spent about the same amount of time—more than 50 hours a week—on musical activities. But the two groups whose skill levels made them likelier to play well enough to perform publicly spent most of their time practicing in solitude.

In later studies, Ericsson and his colleagues found similar results with chess grand masters, athletes and even ordinary college students studying for exams. For all these groups, solitary training allows for a level of intense and personal focus that's hard to sustain in a group setting. "You gain the most on your per-

formance when you work alone," says Ericsson. "And the introverted temperament might make some kids more willing to make that commitment."

The trouble is, fewer and fewer of us have time for solitary contemplation and practice anymore. It's not just the assault of e-mail, cell phones and social media; in fact, many introverts prefer these digital tools because they provide a buffer that telephone conversations and face-to-face meetings don't. But the very geography of the American workplace is designed to force people together. Some 70% of American workers spend their days in open-plan offices, with little or no separation from colleagues; since 1970, the average amount of space allotted to each employee has shrunk from 500 sq. ft. (46 sq m) to 200 sq. ft. (19 sq m). Much of this is done in the name of collaboration, but enforced teamwork can stifle creativity. "You need to give people time to think if you want them to actually get work done," says Cain.

It's not just introverts who suffer when work becomes an endless series of meetings and brainstorming sessions. Anyone who has spent time in any organization knows that there is rarely a correlation between the quality of an idea and the volume at which it is presented. Defying the loudest speaker—and the groupthink that tends to build around that person—can be painful for anyone. Gregory Berns, a neuroeconomist at Emory University, has found that when people oppose group consensus, their amygdalae light up, signaling fear of rejection. The risks of groupthink are perhaps most apparent in criminal injuries, where the desire for social cohesion can sometimes short-circuit justice.

The right kind of leader can break that pattern, and the right kind of leader may be an introverted one. Introverted CEOs are more common than you might think, given the caricature of the hard-charging, fast-talking executive. By one estimate, 40% of high-powered American businesspeople fall on the introvert end of the spectrum, a group that appears to include the likes of Bill Gates, Charles Schwab and Google CEO Larry Page. The ability to assess risk and remain focused on the long term can pay off big in the boardroom. So can the capacity for listening, a trait that can be too easily lost in the isolation of the C-level suite. "Introverted leaders tend to be more detail oriented and better able to hear their employees," says Jennifer Kahnweiler, an executive coach and author of *The Introverted Leader*.

There's even a case to be made that introverted CEOs are the business leaders

TO READ AN ESSAY BY SUSAN CAIN, THE AUTHOR OF *QUIET*, GO TO TIME.COM/SUSAN-CAIN

of the future. Wharton Business School psychologist Adam Grant has found that introverted leaders mesh best with empowered and independent employees, while traditionally extroverted executives work best with employees who take orders easily. "In a faster-paced service-and-knowledge economy, it's much more difficult for leaders to anticipate all of the threats and opportunities that face their organizations," says Grant. "This need for employee proactivity has created a distinct advantage for introverted leaders." And that, in turn, may spell an advantage for their companies.

In fact, Americans may all be living under an introverted leader right now. Barack Obama isn't shy—no shy person survives a presidential campaign—but he shows tendencies toward introversion, including the love of solitude that helped him thrive as a writer. As a leader, Obama is more facilitator than dominator, and before he was a politician he was an academic—a line of work that probably has more introverts per capita than any other profession except long-haul truckers. As Obama told *TIME*'s Fareed Zakaria recently, he simply prefers to spend his limited free time with his family rather than at Washington parties. "The stereotype that politicians are extroverts has a basis in fact," says Aubrey Immanuel, a psychologist who runs the Unit for the Study of Personality in Politics at St. John's University in Minnesota. "But Obama is relatively modest on that scale."

That sets him apart from many of his predecessors, like the gregarious George W. Bush, whose bonhomie was one of his great selling points—to say nothing of Clinton, who had to be physically torn away from crowds. But if extroversion is great on the campaign trail, it doesn't always help in the business of governing. Both Clinton and Bush endangered their presidencies by engaging in what turned out to be graver risks than they might have imagined: one with an intern, the other in Iraq. An introvert like Obama is more inclined to think before he acts, and if anything, the President has been criticized as too risk averse.

Yet Obama's temperament may hold him back in other ways too. He is known to keep a tight circle of advisers, which is a terrible way to become exposed to new ideas or fresh perspectives. The vaunted listening skills of the introvert are pointless, after all, if there's nothing new to hear. The President's rare attempts at schmoozing, like his "golf summit" with House Speaker John Boehner last summer, can seem forced and false. While the who-would-you-want-to-have-a-beer-with

ARE YOU AN INNIE OR AN OUTIE?

The Quiz

Answer yes or no to the questions below to find out where you fall on the introversion spectrum

- ☐ ☐ **Y N**
- ☐ ☐ 1. I prefer one-on-one conversations to group activities.
 - ☐ ☐ 2. I often prefer to express myself in writing.
 - ☐ ☐ 3. I enjoy solitude.
 - ☐ ☐ 4. I seem to care less than my peers about wealth, fame and status.
 - ☐ ☐ 5. I dislike small talk, but I enjoy talking in depth about topics that matter to me.
 - ☐ ☐ 6. People tell me that I'm a good listener.
 - ☐ ☐ 7. I'm not a big risk taker.
 - ☐ ☐ 8. I enjoy work that allows me to dive in with few interruptions.
 - ☐ ☐ 9. I like to celebrate birthdays on a small scale with only one or two close friends or family members.
 - ☐ ☐ 10. People describe me as soft-spoken or mellow.
 - ☐ ☐ 11. I prefer not to show my work or discuss it with others until it is finished.
 - ☐ ☐ 12. I dislike conflict.
 - ☐ ☐ 13. I do my best work alone.
 - ☐ ☐ 14. I tend to think before I speak.
 - ☐ ☐ 15. I feel drained after being out and about, even if I've enjoyed myself.
 - ☐ ☐ 16. I often let calls go to voice mail.
 - ☐ ☐ 17. If I had to choose, I'd prefer a weekend with absolutely nothing to do to one with too many things scheduled.
 - ☐ ☐ 18. I don't enjoy multitasking.
 - ☐ ☐ 19. I concentrate easily.
 - ☐ ☐ 20. In classrooms, I prefer lectures to seminars.



ANSWER SCALE

There are no fixed scores, since both introversion and extroversion fall along a continuum, with many people—known as ambiverts—falling somewhere in between. Still, the more yes answers you put down, the more introverted you are likely to be—and vice versa.

test may be an overworked criterion when it comes to choosing among presidential candidates, it does help when that candidate reaches the Oval Office and has to strike bargains with an often obstreperous opposition.

But just because all of us—our Presidents included—have powerful inborn traits doesn't mean we can't stretch the limits of our personalities when the stakes are high enough. Take Brian Little. He's a research psychologist and superstar academic lecturer; his class on personality at Harvard was perennially one of the most popular at the university. He's also a serious introvert, one who needs to take solitary breaks after intense social activity, even—yes—hiding in the bathroom from time to time. "The feeling of stress is always there," says Little.

Yet he pushes through the constraints of his temperament because the social value of lecturing and speaking—of truly connecting with his students—trumps the discomfort his introversion can cause him. Little calls this phenomenon Free Trait Theory: the idea that while we have certain fixed bits of personality, we can act out of character in the service of core personal goals. The key, he explains, is balancing three equal but very different identities. There's our mostly inborn personality, the one that wants us to be introverted or extroverted; that's the biogenic identity. There are the expectations of our culture, family and religion—the sociogenic identity. And then there are our personal desires and our sense of what matters—the ideogenic identity.

An introvert like Little could live in a way that satisfies his nerves, never leaving the library, but then his ideogenic self would starve. He'd miss out on doing what matters most to him, even if doing it occasionally sends him into a cold sweat. "Am I just going to let things wash over me, or am I going to strike out and change and grow and challenge?" says Little. "The answer depends on what you want out of life."

So it can be for all of us introverts. From the moment we wake up to the second we go to sleep—preferably after relaxing with a book in bed—introverts live in an extrovert's world, and there are days when we'd prefer to do nothing more than stay at home. But while our temperaments may define us, that doesn't mean we're controlled by them—if we can find something or someone that motivates us to push beyond the boundaries of our nerves. I'm happy to be an introvert, but that's not all I am. —WITH REPORTING BY CLEO BROCK-ABRAHAM/NEW YORK

Dr. Oz



Dr. Oz will appear in all of TIME's **Health Specials** with ideas that will help you start getting healthier today

Charms of the Quiet Child

Big personalities may get the applause, but reserve can be a gift, and a little shyness can be O.K.

MOST PARENTS WANT THEIR children to be assertive, bold and brave, to take on challenges without fear of people or of failure. Some kids do just that, and when they do, the grownups swoon. This is how Presidents, movie stars and Olympic medalists start out, isn't it? Who wouldn't want a golden child? The problem, of course, is that if boldness is golden, reticence must be silver or bronze—or tin. Introverted children are everywhere—you may be raising one—yet too often they wind up without cheerleaders.

So for starters, let's remember that introversion, in most cases, is good. The accomplishments of deep thinkers, great poets, world-changing scientists stack up quite nicely against those of Oscar winners and Olympians, even if there's not the same temperamental sizzle to go along with them. Jonas Salk and Marie Curie did not spend a lot of time in the club scene. Neil Armstrong is no one's idea of a glad-hander. But the fact is, they, like thousands of history's other greats, might never have achieved the things they did without their quiet focus.

The key for parents raising introverted children is first and most important to accept that vast personality differences exist among all kids, even when they grow up

under the same roof with the same parents. My four children are incredibly different, as is the case with my siblings and me. But just because our kids present entirely different faces to us doesn't mean they should get entirely different responses. It may be easier to react with enthusiasm and applause (often literally) to a child who is an athlete or a dancer than to one whose gifts lie in math and science. And it's certainly easier to be charmed by your funnier, more charismatic kids than by your quieter, more taciturn ones. But rewarding your children's diverse skills and styles with equal support is important all the same.

Genuine maladaptive shyness, of course, is not at all

the same as simple, healthy introversion—and it has very different causes and consequences. Left unaddressed, extreme shyness can hinder language and other kinds of cognitive development. It may also lead to depression, low self-esteem and simple loneliness. While healthy introversion is likely innate, shyness can be heavily influenced by environment. Dynamics in the home that can drive a child inward include abuse, trauma and alcoholism. Birth order, a bullying older sibling and flagrant favoritism by parents can contribute as well.

There may be physical causes of shyness too. In my specialty, I sometimes see heart ailments that make a child more introverted. If blood isn't circulating properly, the brain and other organs don't get enough oxygen for engagement in social interactions. Speech and hearing need to be assessed as well; if you can't hear or communicate properly, you

can hardly engage with the people around you easily or well. A pediatric neurologist can determine if a child's shyness is actually a condition lying on the autism spectrum, and a psychologist can look for anxiety conditions such as social phobia and obsessive-compulsive disorder.

Treatments for anxiety conditions in particular can be very straightforward, including exposure to feared situations (immersion), either through real experiences or imagined desensitization. Group therapy may be especially valuable for kids whose issue involves learning to be comfortable with others. In truly stubborn cases, some anti-anxiety medications are approved for pediatric use, but they should be reserved for the kids who are most at risk.

The best wisdom I can offer I learned on the job—not as a doctor but as a parent. As dangerous as the consequences of shyness can be for development, the dangers of parents' imposing some ideal vision of childhood behavior on their kids are more insidious. All children have their own lens through which they view the world. If that lens refracts things in the softer, quieter focus of the introvert, parents must accept that. The occasional social nudge is fine for a withdrawn or timid child. But a full, unreserved embrace is better still. ■

Mehmet Oz is vice chairman and professor of surgery at New York-Presbyterian Hospital Columbia University Medical Center, a best-selling author and the host of the nationally syndicated TV program The Dr. Oz Show





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The Culture

50 POP CHART Oscar predictions / **52 MUSIC**

A starlet's false start / **54 BOOKS** Teenage love vs. death

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Eli Manning's triumph / **60 TECH** BlackBerry's woes



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Pop Chart



ALBUM EDITION



GOOD WEEK/ BAD WEEK

Fiona Apple

The singer's fourth album is set to come out this year after a seven-year wait

Nicki Minaj

The rapper's *Pink Friday: Roman Reloaded* was delayed from Feb. 14 until April 3

FANTASY

One Tree to Bind Them

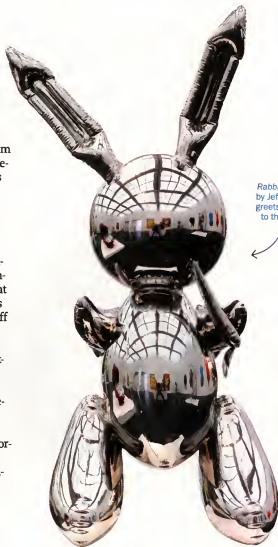
Swedish chemical-engineering student Emil Johansson is mapping every character from J.R.R. Tolkien's fictional Middle-Earth on one large family tree. On his website, totproject.com, he's traced 646 characters so far. We have just one question: Where will he put the Ents?



ART

The Artistic '80s

From AIDS to feminism to the expansion of televised media, the 1980s were a period of great cultural shifts. "This Will Have Been: Art, Love & Politics in the 1980s," on view from Feb. 11 to June 3 at Chicago's Museum of Contemporary Art, looks at work from those years by artists including Jeff Koons and protester-provocateurs the Guerrilla Girls. The exhibition is separated into four sections—"The End Is Near," "Democracy," "Gender Trouble," "Desire and Longing"—each exploring a different social, political or cultural influence of the decade.



Rabbit, 1986, by Jeff Koons, greets visitors to the show



TRAVEL

The Log Flume Of Waterloo

French politician Yves Jégo wants to take on Disneyland Paris, and he knows the perfect draw: Napoleon Bonaparte. If enough funds can be raised, construction on a Napoleonland theme park will begin in 2014, with an opening in 2017. Potential attractions include a museum, war re-enactments, water shows and a ski run past battle scenes. Reportedly none of the rides will have height restrictions.

AWARDS

Plan 9 from Oscar Space

After two years with 10 Best Picture nominees, the Academy wanted to prune the list. So this time there are ... nine. A perfect square for some perfectly fine films. See them before filling out your Oscar ballot. Or crib from the following wisdom. —RICHARD CORLISS



MOST LIKELY TO WIN

The Artist

From an unsung French director (Michel Hazanavicius) and his two obscure French stars (Jean Dujardin and Bérénice Bejo) comes this black-and-white, "silent" valentine to old-time Hollywood. Two miracles: it's the Oscar front runner and the year's sheerest delight.



The Descendants

A land-rich Hawaiian (George Clooney) learns that his dying wife had a lover. Alexander Payne's dramedy was favored for Best Picture before *The Artist* showed up and stole hearts. For consolation, Payne's film will probably win the Actor and Adapted Screenplay awards.



Hugo

Another tribute to movie pioneers—this one, to French cinemagician Georges Méliès—*Hugo* led with 11 nominations; *The Artist* had 10. If that film should get caught in, say, some awful marital scandal, Martin Scorsese's 3-D wonder could step up and take Best Picture.



The Help

The one certified hit in this enned, Tate Taylor's movie of the 1960s-set best seller boasted the year's strongest ensemble cast. Viola Davis could win Best Actress; Jessica Chastain and Octavia Spencer are up for Supporting. Vote the straight Spencer-Davis ticket.



TRUE BLUE There are few things more integral to Southern California's identity than the swimming pool. In "Backyard Oasis," running until May 27, the Palm Springs Art Museum offers images of man-made watery worlds set down amid arid landscapes. In this photo by Michael Childers, a swimmer paddles through a pool painted by the artist David Hockney.

VERBATIM

I'd rather do a *World of Warcraft* ad than, like, a lipstick commercial.'

AUBREY PLAZA, *Parks and Recreation* star, to *New York* magazine, on the tendency of actresses to shill for beauty products; instead she recently starred in a spot for the multiplayer online role-playing game



Plaza is known for her utterly deadpan comic delivery



CELEBS

The Seal Is Broken

He proposed in an igloo. They renewed their vows every year. Yet on Jan. 22, Heidi Klum and Seal announced their separation after six years of marriage. The couple were often held up as proof that celebrity relationships could succeed, just like Ashton and Demi, Susan Sarandon and Tim Robbins—wait, none of those worked either. O.K., now we're sad.

4 THINGS YOU DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THIS WEEK

1. Getting a 1990s-hip-hop fix. Booty-rap pioneers 2 Live Crew are reuniting.

2. Whether Zoëy Deschanel had a good birthday. President Obama sent her a personal birthday message. Maybe he likes *The New Girl*?

3. Choosing between a hat and a fascinator for this year's Royal Ascot. The British horse race has banned the gaudy headpiece from its prestigious Royal Enclosure. Hats only, please!

4. Nickelback's gumption. The much maligned rock band is tired of being insulted and is sticking up for itself by responding to its haters on Twitter.



War Horse

Back in majestic epic form, Steven Spielberg secured a Best Picture nomination for this boy-loves-horse battle story but is not a finalist for Director. His other new film, the zazy, 3-D *Adventures of Tintin*, was also short-listed for Best Animated Feature. Poor kid.

Extremely Loud & Incredibly Close

The surprise of the category, this post-9/11 family drama also snagged a Supporting Actor nomination for Max von Sydow, who plays a lodger as mute as anyone in *The Artist*. Nothing, though, for the film's stars, Tom Hanks and Sandra Bullock.

The Tree of Life

Terrence Malick's macrocosmic tone poem enthralled most critics but annoyed (or ennui'd) many moviegoers. It was deemed an Oscar long shot but landed Best Picture and Director nominations. One citation it deserved and missed: Brad Pitt for Supporting Actor.

Midnight in Paris

Woody Allen can film in a French accent too. Owen Wilson plays a restless American slipping into a fantasy of Paris in the late '20s—the same period as *The Artist* and *Hugo*. Allen's most popular film in a quarter-century might win him an Original Screenplay Oscar.

Moneyball

Brad Pitt lasers sly star quality (and got a Best Actor nomination) as Oakland A's GM Billy Beane. Rare is the film that shows a guy being good at his job and that entertains while it edifies. A pity that *Moneyball* is as likely to win Best Picture as the A's are to win the 2012 World Series.

Not So Fast. Instant pop fame strikes Lana Del Rey

By Douglas Wolk

WHEN DANIEL RADCLIFFE INTRODUCED *Saturday Night Live* musical guest Lana Del Rey on Jan. 14, most viewers probably wondered who she was. An online startlet thanks to a couple of low-res YouTube videos, Del Rey has no chart hits, no album available and nothing in stores, save for a few magazine covers showcasing her early-'60s fashion sense and Mick Jagger-size lips. Such an unproven talent doesn't often appear on America's highest-profile stage for live music.

After she performed, the same viewers likely wondered how in the world she'd gotten there. Del Rey, 25, looked alternately dazed and terrified as she pouted through "Video Games" and "Blue Jeans," mangling lyrics into off-pitch strings of meaningless phonemes and occasionally making a wobbly 360-degree turn in her floor-length gown. As SNL debacles go, it wasn't quite Ashlee Simpson dancing a jig over a vocal track, but it was close.

Del Rey—whose album *Born to Die* arrives Jan. 31—is a case study in how the manufacturing of a pop phenomenon can go hugely right and terribly wrong at the same time. The official narrative is of a DIY success story: a singer-songwriter who once lived in a trailer park, she posted a homemade promo for "Video Games" on YouTube last August. Magically, the ecstatic press—and covers and remixes—rolled right in. She followed up with more hip-hop-inflected torch songs mining the same territory of cinematic sweep and outlaw mythology. She was booked to play *The Ellen DeGeneres Show* and *Letterman*. She signed a modeling contract. She even received a Brit Award nomination as an "international breakthrough artist."

The buzz seemed like Bieber fever for people who dig David Lynch. But on closer inspection, the swell of acclaim appears to have been carefully orchestrated—as it can be when you're backed by Interscope

Records, home of Lady Gaga, Madonna and U2. In fact, Del Rey, née Lizzy Grant, was signed to the label before she posted her videos. Though in interviews she has intimated a hardscrabble background, her father is a wealthy domain-name investor. The Lana Del Rey identity, she said, "came from a series of managers and lawyers over the last five years who wanted a name that they thought better fit the sound of the music." She's touted as a major new songwriting talent, but her album is co-written by veteran songsmiths. And *Born to Die* is not her debut: she briefly released an unremarkable singer-songwriter album a couple of years ago, then pulled it from circulation.

The problem is not that the Lana Del Rey character—a haunted Hollywood studio girl, an ingenue in the thrall of a bad, bad man—is a blatantly constructed facade. Pop would be nothing without invented personae, and Del Rey's is cleverer than most. It's not even that she has changed her look and sound so drastically since her days as Lizzy Grant. Tori Amos once fronted the synth-pop band Y Kant Tori Read; Katy Perry started her career with a Christian-rock album. Everyone's entitled to a false start or two.

The problem is that the entertainment industry has decided that Del Rey is an important artist whether we like it or not. But pop audiences are intensely

meritocratic—that's why we love *American Idol*. If we don't get to vote on our musicians, we expect them to prove their worth by touring, woodshedding and building a body of work. Del Rey is getting the superstar treatment by fiat; she's a fledgling talent stuck in a costume that won't come off.

That's a pity, because *Born to Die* is a likable and promising album. The solid core of Del Rey's sound is movie music, both the kind that accompanied mid-century Hollywood films (sweeping strings, fairy-dust harp, ominous timpani) and the kind heard in them now (floor-shaking bass tones, flashes of atmospheric noise). Her innovation is to sneak the cadences of hip-hop into throwback torch songs; several of her choruses are itching to be repurposed for rap tracks.

Del Rey has described her aesthetic as "Lolita got lost in the hood," and she means it. The song on *Born to Die* called "Lolita" is neither the one that quotes the opening passage of Vladimir Nabokov's novel nor the one that mentions the heart-shaped sunglasses that Sue Lyon wears in the 1962 film version. In Nabokov's book, Lolita is an invented identity with a grandiose mythology and immense expectations attached to it. It's an identity forced on someone who didn't choose it, and it silences and ruins her. Lana Del Rey might do well to keep that in mind. ■

The Roots of Lana Del Rey



PORTISHEAD
This British duo staked out similar retro-cinematic terrain back in 1994



AMY WINEHOUSE
LDR has picked up the late singer's pinched vocal tone and hints of dissipation



CHRIS ISAAK
The dreamy sound of LDR's first singles recalls Isaak's "Wicked Game"



THE NOTORIOUS B.I.G.
LDR pays homage with an album title that echoes Biggie's *Ready to Die*



KATE BUSH
The eccentric British singer influenced LDR's swooning delivery



Books

The Topic of Cancer. A young-adult novel that triumphs with humor and pathos

By Lev Grossman

EARLY IN JOHN GREEN'S NEW NOVEL, *The Fault in Our Stars*, 16-year-old Hazel offers her succinct opinion of novels about people with cancer: "Cancer books suck." This may or may not be true (I haven't read a lot of cancer books), but either way it's an extraordinary thing for Hazel to say, given that she is the narrator of a cancer book—one that, moreover, does not suck. In fact, it is damn near genius.

Hazel has cancer herself: "thyroid originally but with an impressive and long-settled satellite colony in my lungs." The lung cancer keeps her permanently short of breath and forces her to haul around an oxygen canister. At a support group for teenagers with cancer, Hazel meets Augustus, who has lost a leg to osteosarcoma. Like Hazel, Gus has a lively intelligence and a pleasant, debonair wit. These are their primary weapons

against the disease that is slowly eating them alive. Hazel and Gus begin a slow, decorous courtship—or as decorous as is possible between two inexperienced teenagers with an oxygen canister and a prosthetic leg between them.

The subject of cancer, especially in children, is surrounded by a huge—one could almost say tumorous—mass of sentimental rhetoric, and as Gus and Hazel circle each other, they work self-consciously against it, irradiating it with their merciless scorn. "You are familiar," Gus asks, "with the trope of the stoic and determined cancer victim who heroically fights her cancer with inhuman strength and never complains or stops smiling even at the very end, etcetera?" Gus and Hazel refuse to be tropes. Instead they construct a new kind of cancer rhetoric, one that looks straight on at the unbearable fact that they are

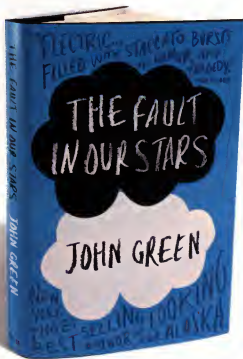
monstrously unlucky and stand a good chance of dying young.

Not even Shakespeare is exempt from Green's rhetoric-reform program. The book's title is a reference to *Julius Caesar*: "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, / But in ourselves." Hazel's fault lies not in herself but in her stars, more precisely in her biology. "Cancer kids," she says, "are essentially side effects of the relentless mutation that made the diversity of life on earth possible." She and Gus are evolution's collateral damage. The discipline with which Green keeps his camera trained on the tragedy at the center of the book, waving off any of the usual novelistic sops and prevarications, is simply devastating.

The Fault in Our Stars doesn't just dispense with fake sentiment; it offers us a powerful shot of the real stuff in its place. The love between Hazel and Gus—the courage and humor with which they manage their grief for each other and for themselves—is as real and intense as any I've seen in recent fiction, young adult or otherwise. One doesn't like to throw around phrases like "instant classic" lightly, but I can see *The Fault in Our Stars* taking its place alongside *Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret* in the young-adult canon.

Green's book is also a good example of why so many adult readers are turning to young-adult literature for the pleasures and consolations they used to get from conventional literary fiction. Its pacing is steady and brisk—it declines to linger lugubriously over every last observable detail—and its prose is sharp and clean and unshowy. It's funny, but it's not clever or overly impressed with itself. Above all, *The Fault in Our Stars* is fearless in the face of powerful, uncomplicated, unironized emotion, which is a very different thing from sentimentality. (It has been years since this jaded critic has shed tears over a novel, but I will cop to crying over this one.) While the prevailing trend in young-adult novels is toward supernatural romance and dystopian science fiction, Green dispenses with magic and with our dismal totalitarian future. He doesn't need them. For his purposes, love is magic, and the present is dystopian enough as it is.

Video star Green is also an Internet celebrity: his videos, which he makes with his brother Hank, regularly get upwards of 200,000 views on YouTube



Television



Beautiful Losers. Come to *Luck* for the horses, but stay for the people

By James Poniewozik

THE PILOT OF HBO'S NEW HORSE-RACING drama *Luck* (Sundays, 9 p.m. E.T.) introduces viewers to the Pick Six. You predict the winners of six races, laying down all your money in advance. Pick them all, you win big. If not—well, at least you got some fresh air at the track.

Critics like me often spring a version of the Pick Six on readers when it comes to prestige dramas. "It starts slow," we say, "but give it five or six episodes!" TV viewers, having waited like Linus in the pumpkin patch on slow burns like *The Killing*, may well worry it's a sucker's bet.

So: I came to love *Luck* five episodes into a nine-episode season. On the way, I passed through confusion, incredulity and, yes, stretches of boredom. What sealed it for me was no high-drama twist but a scene in which Chester "Ace" Bernstein (Dustin Hoffman), a tough but melancholic gangster fresh from doing three years for someone else's crime, is tenderly nuzzled by a horse. You've been warned.

Creator David Milch (*Deadwood*, *NYPD Blue*) is a lifelong racing lover, and *Luck* has a fan's eye for minutiae. (Michael Mann, of *Miami Vice* and *Heat* fame, directed the pilot and executive produces

the series.) *Luck* tells you the treatment for horse colic (milk of magnesia, or "leche") and the price of upkeep (carrots: \$60 a month), and it captures the sport's texture down to the veins bulging on the horses' flanks. It uses the oval of L.A.'s Santa Anita racetrack to inscribe the borders of a world; like HBO's New Orleans drama *Treme*, it does so on its subculture's terms and in its language, expecting you to catch up. (A "bug," say, is a newbie jockey, named for the asterisk next to his name on the racing form.)

But really, *Luck* is about gambling's great subject: losers. Not chumps or patsies, but men and women (mostly men) who have lost in their lives. Ace, as part of a payback scheme against the associates who put him away, buys an interest in the track as well

There's a bailout-era vibe about little guys scratching for their piece in a broken, gamed economy

as a \$2 million horse, Pint of Plain. Ace's driver, Gus (Dennis Farina), a lonely, Sancho Panza-like footman, fronts as the horse's owner. And grizzled trainer Walter Smith (Nick Nolte) mutters around the margins, nursing bitterness over the last horse he let himself love.

Like Milch's gold-rush western *Deadwood* (a kind of gambling story itself), *Luck* uses its hermetic world as a scale model of society at large. There's a bailout-era Occupy vibe about little guys scratching for their piece in a broken, gamed economy built on equine blood and snapped legs: a sketchy trainer (John Ortiz), a hungry female jockey (Kerry Condon), a hustling agent (Richard Kind).

While there's some low-boil mob intrigue, Milch's concerns are interior. He creates an inward-spiraling language to portray characters trying to figure themselves out. (A typical Ace line: "You took him out. About which toward you I'd feel very different if I wasn't co-responsible.") *Luck*'s action is on the track. Mann's race scenes are all blinding silks, exploding sinew and pounding hooves. The horses are beautiful, and they are terrifying.

And to each character, they are necessary. At one point, Ace meets a woman who hires ex-cons to care for retired horses, work that repairs both man and horse. That's the subject of *Luck*—healing—and it's most beautifully expressed in the running story about a quartet of sad-sack "railbirds" (racing fans) who serve as the show's Greek chorus. Each is in some way damaged: Marcus (Kevin Dunn) is in a wheelchair, Jerry (Jason Gedrick) is a gambling addict. Together, though, they can function. At one point, a friend suggests giving Jerry money to get him out of a bind; Marcus shoots the idea down, but with love. "You don't make him whole by giving him money," Marcus says. "Whoever made him didn't make him whole. That's the way he is."

Luck too is the way it is. It's not, frankly, the sleek thriller HBO's promos have made it out to be. It's rumpled and stubbly; even the handsome Gedrick looks as though you had found him under your couch cushions. But if you want a deeply felt story about redemption, chance and how hope, however faint, gets you through a day—place your bets, folks. ■

Super Brother

Giants quarterback Eli Manning has thrown off Peyton's shadow

By Sean Gregory

The Little-Sib Show



MIKE AND GREG MADDUX
Older brother Mike was mediocre in the majors; Greg will be a Hall of Famer



THE WILLIAMS SISTERS
Baby sis Serena is 13-10 vs. Venus and has 13 slam singles titles, to Venus' 7



THE WAHLBERGS
Donnie was dreamy in a '90s boy band; little brother Mark is a movie star

IF ELI MANNING HAD SUMMONED HIS BIG brother during the NFC championship game on Jan. 22, no one would have blamed him. All day, the San Francisco 49ers' defense pounded Eli into the soupy Candlestick Park grass like a horseshoe stake, sacking him six times. After being hit yet again late in the game, he called a time-out to regroup, with sod stuck to his helmet and his shoulder pads undone, looking like a rookie who had just been hazed.

You couldn't picture Peyton Manning, one of the most competitive athletes of our time, being so calm if he were taking such a beating. When any of Peyton's Indianapolis Colts screws up, he scolds them, dishing out verbal sacks to offending offensive linemen. Eli delivers no such beratings. Sure, you'll see him give a stern lecture to a wayward wide receiver. But mostly he's unruffled; he's too busy running the offense. "Eli doesn't have to show any false emotion," says David Cutcliffe, Eli's coach at Ole Miss, who remains close to his former star player. "What a gift that is. He never changes."

Only his stats do. By turning in an MVP-caliber regular season in which he threw for nearly 5,000 yards and led the surging New York Giants to a second Super Bowl in five years, Eli Manning is forever altering fans' opinions of him and flipping the order of the names on the Manning marquee. On Feb. 5 in Indianapolis, New York faces the New England Patriots in a rematch of the 2008 Super Bowl: that year, the Giants spoiled New England's perfect season, upsetting the Pats 17-14.

Despite that win, when people talked about the Mannings, it was always Peyton and then Eli. Peyton was more than just the older bro; he was the superior quarterback by far. No more.

Eli seems to be setting new marks every week. This year, he threw 15 fourth-quarter touchdown passes, breaking the record held by Baltimore Colts legend Johnny Unitas—and Indy Colts legend Peyton. Eli rises in the playoffs (the same can't always be said for Peyton), and by beating the 49ers, he became the first quarterback to win five postseason road games. Now Peyton is recovering from a neck injury that cost him the season and pondering his future with the Colts. The team finished 2-14 without him this season and will almost certainly select Stanford standout QB Andrew Luck with the first pick in the draft. The Colts may even release Peyton to save some salary-cap cash. Meanwhile, little brother Eli will storm into Peytontown with a chance to win his second Super Bowl. If Eli beats the Pats again, he'll be out from Peyton's shadow forever—a hero to neglected little brothers everywhere.

Eli has developed a distinctive style: smooth under pressure, often sidestepping on rushing defensive linemen before delivering a ball on target. Like Tom Brady, Aaron Rodgers and Joe Montana, he's a football Roger Federer, languid in movement, almost poetic, as opposed to Peyton's Rafael Nadal, the snorting bull. New York fans were not always warm to Eli's less-than-cosmopolitan demeanor, even in the years following his Super Bowl win. Big Apple sports-talk radio was ripe with Eli haters. Fans took his goofy streak—he likes antiquing, for example, and early in his career he would forget the start times of his games—and hangdog expressions as indifference, and they longed for Peyton's intensity. But in football, as in any profession, once you get better at doing your job, people stop griping about how you do it. Funny: when you throw



fewer interceptions, your former flaws are lauded as leadership. "Eli doesn't say much," says Giants safety Antrel Rolle. "When he says it, he means it. It's coming from the heart."

Eli Manning has truly matured as team captain. Two days after New York beat San Francisco, he gave the team a speech: Prepare as if we're playing the Pats during the Super Bowl's off week, so that once we get to Indy, the media circus won't set us back. This past spring, during the NFL lockout, Manning sought to build rapport with his young, unproven wide receivers. So he convened workout sessions at a Hoboken, N.J., high school. The other New York quarterback, Mark Sanchez of the Jets, created a similar minicamp. But his teammates stayed at ocean-side villas in Southern California. Manning's gathering was less glamorous but more effective; he has particularly connected with Victor Cruz, a Manning camper who appeared in three games last season as a rookie. This year, Cruz set a team record with 1,536 receiving yards and shredded the 49ers' defense for 10 catches and 142 yards. "At this point, he can read us by our body language," says fellow receiver Hakeem Nicks, who worked with Manning and Cutcliffe for three days this summer at Duke University, where Cutcliffe now coaches. "I'm very, very thankful he's my quarterback, man."

Against the Patriots, Manning will need to be in rhythm with his wideouts. The holdovers from the 2007 New England team, which blew a chance at sports immortality by losing to the Giants, will be hungry for revenge. "They might deny it," says NBC commentator Rodney Harrison, who was a safety on that team. "But it's a factor. It matters." The Pats also, don't forget, have a pretty fine quarterback of their own in Tom Brady. After New England beat the Baltimore Ravens in the AFC championship game, Brady told a national television audience he "sucked"—he threw two interceptions and no touchdowns. He will seek atonement in the Super Bowl. The Pats are also playing with a purpose: they have dedicated the season to the wife of owner Robert Kraft, Myra, who died of cancer this past summer.

The Giants, however, have a winning vibe and a better defense. Much like they did during their 2008 Super Bowl run, they are playing their best football at the right time of the year. Eli's campers could be the most dangerous deep threats in the NFL, and New England's secondary scares no one. New York's defensive line is causing all kinds of havoc for opponents. If Eli can raise that Super Bowl trophy, call it a win for the tight-lipped pros who just go about their business. A win would also give Eli one more title than Peyton. Remember him? ■

Super Show. Giants, Pats: Haven't we met before?

5 UNFORGETTABLE SUPER MOMENTS



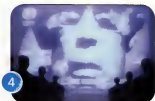
THE CATCH David Tyree's helmet grab helped the Giants shock the undefeated Pats in 2008



THE GLITCH After Janet Jackson was exposed in '04, the NFL cleaned up halftime shows



THE STRETCH On the last play in 2000, Tennessee's Kevin Dyson fell 1 yard short of tying the game



THE PITCH In 1984, Apple introduced the Macintosh with a breathtaking play on Orwell's novel



THE PROMISE "Broadway" Joe Namath guaranteed an upset in Super Bowl III; the Jets delivered

WHAT A DIFFERENCE FOUR YEARS MAKES

This year's Super Bowl is a rematch of the Patriots-Giants game from 2008. The teams themselves aren't all that's changed

THEN ... NOW

SUPER BOWL TICKET PRICES

\$700

Face value
(lowest price)

\$800

Face value
(lowest price)

FRANCHISE VALUE

PATRIOTS:

\$1.2 billion

GIANTS:

\$974 million

PATRIOTS:

\$1.4 billion

GIANTS:

\$1.3 billion

AVERAGE NATIONAL NEW-HOME PRICE

\$301,200

\$242,300

GENERAL ELECTRIC'S STOCK PRICE

\$34

\$18.80

DAVID TYREE

His "helmet catch" spurred the Giants to victory late in the fourth quarter

The Super Bowl grab was his last. He now works for a financial-planning company

TOP NEWCOMERS Giants wideout Victor Cruz, left, and Patriots tight end Rob Gronkowski have played crucial roles in their sophomore campaigns



GAME BREAK

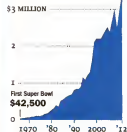
The competition among Super Bowl advertisers has become nearly as big as the game itself. Last year's winners: VW's "Darth Vader" and Chrysler's "Imported from Detroit" spots



Dannon will make its Super Bowl ad debut

Cost of a 30-sec. Super Bowl spot

\$3.5 million



Super Bowl mainstay Anheuser-Busch bought 4 min. 30 sec. of airtime for the Feb. 5 selftest

That's the equivalent of almost 4 million six-packs of Bud Light



x 4 MILLION

FOOD FIGHT

Food and beverage advertisers blitz Super Bowl Sunday. And no wonder—the day ranks second only to Thanksgiving in total food consumption



125 BILLION

Chicken wings sold that week



71 MILLION

Pounds of avocados used in the Guacamole Bowl



35%

Surge in pizza deliveries on Super Bowl Sunday



20%

Spike in 7-Eleven's antacid sales the day after

WINNERS' GRID



RIDING THE BENCH The Lions, Browns, Texans and Jaguars have never played in a Super Bowl

Research for TIME by Eric Dodds

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: DREW HALLOWELL—GETTY IMAGES; BUSINESS WIRE, JAVIER SIEVET, MICHAEL HEIMAN—GETTY IMAGES; EZRA SHAW—GETTY IMAGES; ALAMY (4); AL BELLO—GETTY IMAGES; DOUG PENSINGER—GETTY IMAGES; WALTER IODIS JR.—SPORTS ILLUSTRATED/GETTY IMAGES; YOUTUBE. PETER NEWCOMB—APF/GETTY IMAGES; DONALD MIRALLE—GETTY IMAGES

Either the Patriots or the Giants will claim their fourth Vince Lombardi Trophy, with each winning player receiving \$83,000 and, of course, a ring

So who's going to win?

The pundits spend two weeks breaking down the stats. Now it's our turn



The Giants will win if ...

- The A-B-C streak continues: the team with the QB whose first name starts earlier in the alphabet has won the past six Super Bowls. E(lli) before T(om)?
- They score first. The team that scores first has a 29-16 record in the Super Bowl



The Patriots will win if ...

- The oddsmakers are correct. The favorite has won 73% of the time. The line: Pats by 3
- A lower jobless rate predicts victory. In 17 of the past 20 years, it has. Boston's bests New York's, 6.8% to 8.5%



Of course, in the end ... only God knows!

Tech



Why the BlackBerry Is All Thumbs. A once cool corporate tool needs a reinvention

By Harry McCracken

IT FEELS LIKE ANCIENT HISTORY NOW, BUT THE BlackBerry was once the hippest gadget going. Made by Research in Motion (RIM), the smart phone—which debuted as a pager-like gizmo in 1999 and added voice capability in 2002—built its reputation on a remarkably usable pint-size QWERTY keyboard and software that could securely push messages from corporate servers onto the device. That made e-mail mobile and so addictive that the CrackBerry became a status symbol among executives and consumers.

RIM's longtime co-CEOs, Mike Lazaridis and Jim Balsillie, were rock stars back then. The Waterloo, Ont., company's glory days are long gone, however, and investors and pundits have been clamoring for the duo's heads in recent months. On Jan. 22 a beleaguered RIM announced that Lazaridis and Balsillie were stepping down from their management roles, though they'll remain on the board. Chief operating officer Thorsten Heins is the smart-phone maker's new CEO. "I don't think there is some drastic change needed," he intoned, neglecting the fact that replacing the guys who had been running the company for 20 years might qualify as drastic.

Few outside Waterloo are so blithe. RIM's decline is the most recent example of the huge price tech firms pay for failing to innovate. Remember Motorola's first Razr? Although RIM is profitable and sales remain robust in Africa, Europe and the Middle East, its stock dropped 75% in 2011 because investors see a fading star. The BlackBerry's share of the U.S. smart-phone market has tumbled from 24% to 9% in a year, according to research firm Canalys. And the BlackBerry PlayBook tablet is an embarrassing also-ran.

RIM's woes began the day Apple unveiled the iPhone in 2007. With its wow-factor touchscreen interface and stylish hardware, Apple's breakthrough fast-forwarded expectations about what a phone could be. But RIM was a tool so ingrained in corporate IT departments that its handsets continued to sell well, leading the company to fiddle rather than reinvent. In 2008, for instance, its BlackBerry Storm slathered an unsatisfying touchscreen interface on top of its existing software.

Over time, compared with the iPhone and a gaggle of powerful handsets running Google's Android operating system, BlackBerries started to look like relics. RIM's third-party-app offerings were also increasingly uncompetitive, in both quality and quantity. The company finally acknowledged a need to reboot its platform in 2010—which it did by acquiring QNX, the owner of an industrial-strength operating system that could serve as the basis of the first true iPhone-class BlackBerries.

Those models remain vaporware, delayed until late 2012. Heins says he's shooting for a "blow-the-socks-off experience." At this point, though, Android and the iPhone are so far ahead—Apple's latest quarterly earnings more than doubled from a year ago, to a staggering \$13.1 billion—that the knocking off of socks is a minimum requirement for RIM to stay in the game. In 2005, when Lazaridis and Balsillie made the *TIME* 100 list of the world's most influential people, self-described BlackBerries Anonymous candidate George Stephanopoulos wrote approvingly in these pages that their company was "a case study for M.B.A.s." It still is. It's just that RIM now stands as a stark lesson on the dangers of complacency.

PHONE WARS



BlackBerry

Models like the Bold 9900 still shine at e-mail, but RIM's software is older and crinklier than the competition's



iPhone

It comes with the slickest interface and the best and most bountiful apps. You'd better like Apple's way of doing things, though



Android

What Google's operating system lacks in polish, it makes up for in choice—with a dizzying array of models on every carrier



Windows Phone

Microsoft's clever software, seen in phones like Nokia's Lumia 710, is functional and fun, but it could use more apps

**OLD DAYS:
YOU BOUGHT THE CHUTNEY
BECAUSE YOU LIKED THE JAR.**

**NEW DAYS:
YOU BOUGHT THE CHUTNEY
BECAUSE EVERYONE LIKES
THE CHUTNEY.**

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Joel Stein



Obama Wins! At the Nevada Democratic caucus, the President triumphs. Over himself

LIKE MOST PEOPLE ON FACEBOOK, I don't particularly value my time. But there's still no way I'd spend any of it voting in a Democratic primary this year. Yet in each state, the Democratic Party is asking members to vote for Barack Obama, even though no one is running against him. It's as if someone were trying to build the most boring Soviet-themed amusement park possible.

Worse yet, on Jan. 21, Nevada threw a Democratic caucus, which is like a primary that you have to stay at for hours. But since I know TIME readers expect balanced political coverage, I volunteered to go to Las Vegas to investigate while my colleagues went to South Carolina to cover the much more glamorous Republican primary. The day before the caucus, I shook off a hangover with an amazing buffet breakfast at the swank Cosmopolitan hotel and arrived at the Obama headquarters, where volunteers were calling voters with a difficult pitch: We need you to spend several hours tomorrow afternoon in a high school cafeteria to persuade people to elect Barack Obama over Barack Obama. In Las Vegas. At an event without free drinks, naked women or an outcome you could gamble on.

The office was packed with about 20 volunteers, all using their own cell phones. They were determined to get a higher turnout than the reported 3,000 people who showed up to Republican caucuses in 2004 to vote for an unopposed President Bush. They believed this would greatly impress people. They, apparently, know even more boring people than I do. And I know the people in the office who wanted to go to South Carolina.

I listened to Rachel Leavitt, an 18-year-old UNLV student, read from a script to a prospective caucusgoer. It did not go well. "I like to think people aren't lying to me,"

she said. "But it seems a little strange that all the people who can't go are going on vacation tomorrow."

Yet most volunteers were doing better than 50%. "It's shocked the heck out of me," said Kevin Hagerty, a chiropractor. "People are really cranked up." Hagerty supported the campaign so much in 2008 that he even went to the Inaugural Ball. This was a man who would clearly do anything for Obama. Until I asked if he was going to be a delegate to the national convention in Charlotte, N.C. "No," he said. "I've lived around Charlotte before. There's no reason to go to Charlotte."

But unlike going to Charlotte, Hagerty explained, spending his Friday afternoon begging people to caucus for an unopposed candidate had a purpose: it was a fire drill for November. These calls were helping the volunteers update their phone lists, enlist more volunteers, get contributions and register Democrats. It seemed cruel to trick people into spending their Saturday voting just to test the Obama

campaign's organizational skills. I needed to find out just how angry people would be once they arrived at the caucus—after I finished another breakfast buffet.

When I got to the Cheyenne High School cafeteria, it was—to my amazement—filled with 300 people, including Senate majority leader Harry Reid. I told people they were wasting their afternoon as guinea pigs to help Obama organize, but they said they were well aware of this. They'd come to load up on bumper stickers and get one another's e-mail addresses. "We want to talk and meet and come up with an agenda," said George Johnson, 79. "Plus, we're retired. We're not doing anything."

Before the caucusing, Secretary of Labor Hilda Solis and Reid worked the crowd, which booed Mitt Romney with more passion than anyone has ever shown doing anything to Mitt Romney. A bunch of people walked down the aisles with empty envelopes asking for cash. There was some chanting of "Fired up" and "Ready to go." It felt a lot like a revival meeting, only with even older people.

Then the caucus chair said, "I assume we will all vote for Barack Obama. But if it's not, that's cool." Wondering what she meant, I looked at someone's ballot, which had two choices: Obama and Uncommitted. And of the 12,593 people who showed up at Nevada caucuses that day—a number that must be driving President Bush mad with envy—1.7% chose Uncommitted. That means there were people who drove through a windstorm to spend a Saturday afternoon at a caucus so they could vote for Uncommitted. These were people more dedicated to non-commitment than George Clooney.

The next day, Democratic volunteers knocked on doors throughout Nevada, telling their neighbors about how exciting the caucus was. I can't believe how much time these people have on their hands. Obama had better hope they don't find out about Facebook.



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10 Questions

Artist **Damien Hirst** on outsourcing, money fears and the fate of the \$100 million skull

Eleven galleries around the world are filled with your paintings of spots. Why?
I was at one of Larry [Gagosian]'s galleries, and he has the names of artists on display at his 11 galleries printed on the wall. I thought, Wouldn't it be cool if it was all just my name? You know, I'm the only artist in the world with a series that could fill all his galleries. It was just a perverted megalomaniacal idea.

How many spot paintings are there?
Approximately 1,500 at the moment, which seems like a lot, but I think it works out to about 60 a year. Warhol did 10,000 paintings, and I think Picasso did 40,000. With all my work, I'm at 4,400.

How many of the spot paintings did you personally paint?
Probably close to 25.

How far can you go with outsourcing the painting?
You've always got to believe that you can train anybody. The difference is between art and craft. I've always been careful to not hire somebody who's an absolutely brilliant painter, because then you kind of rely on their talent, whereas it's much better to believe anybody can do this.

A lot of your work deals with decay and death and squalor. Where does this come from?
I always go for both sides of the story. When I make a

butterfly painting, I don't want to seem to be too soppy, so I'll do a fly painting. I think of all my exhibitions as group shows, really.

There's a lot of showmanship in what you do, like the platinum

skull covered with diamonds you tried to sell for \$100 million. How is what you make different from the creations they whip up on those Pimp My Ride-type shows?

I think anything done super-well is art. And it could be a great meal, or it could be a great meeting. Artists make art from what's around them, and [with that piece] we had just had this art boom. To be in that situation was kind of

Hirst is offering a limited-edition spot print to anybody who gets to all 11 exhibitions



nuts, because I grew up poor and the diamond skull was the only thing I could come up with to make. It kind of scared the hell out of me.

Is it harder to make art when you have so much money?
I think money is as complicated as love. I probably have a fear that money might turn out to be more important than art.

This from the man who's worth, what, \$300 million? It changes. I'm O.K., I'm sure. I was speaking to my accountant about my kids recently, and he said, "Don't worry about the kids." But if you're not born into money, you always worry. You can't help it.

So what happened to the \$100 million skull?
In the end I covered my fabrication and a few other costs by selling a third of it to an investment group, who are anonymous. It's really weird. It's probably the first thing I've ever made where I can't have it in my living room.

When people see your work, how would you like it to change the way they look at things?
You know, there's a great piece by Tom Friedman [*1,000 Hours of Staring*], a blank piece of paper pinned to the wall that he stared at over five years. It's a really funny thing, and it fools with your head. It's also a great object. You can't divorce the two. You can't take away the object and then just have what's in your head. You've got to have both.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

FOR MORE OF THIS INTERVIEW WITH DAMIEN HIRST ON VIDEO, GO TO TIME.COM/10QUESTIONS



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